HANDBOOK OF LATIN WRITING

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OF

LATIN WRITING.

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PREFACE.

In preparing this handbook it has not been our object to write an exhaustive work upon Latin composition, but merely to make the labor of both pupil and teacher easier, by putting into compact form various points which we have found it necessary constantly to reiterate to our pupils. A knowledge of forms and of syntax, and some practice in turning easy narrative prose into Latin, has been presupposed.

Feeling that ill success in Latin writing is largely due to the habit of translating the words rather than the thought, we have aimed in the Introductory Remarks and the Suggestions at fastening attention upon the thought, and have tried to show the learner how to express in Latin form the ideas which he has grasped from the English words. We have endeavored to make our suggestions as concise as possible, and have purposely used examples rather sparingly, in the hope of encouraging close attention on the part of pupils.

We have tried to choose exercises which seemed to us to be of more general application, and less like Chinese puzzles than those commonly used, many of which, even when satisfactorily worked out, do not, in a degree at all

proportionate to the labor involved, increase the pupil's power to deal with the next exercise. We have graded the work in a general way, but have not considered it necessary to do so very minutely.

We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness on various points to the excellent works of J. E. Nixon, A. W. Potts, G. L. Bennett, and Allen & Greenough.

We would further express our sincerest thanks to Professors G. M. Lane, F. D. Allen, J. B. Greenough, and C. L. Smith of Harvard University, for their kindness in looking over proof, and for many valuable suggestions.

CAMBRIDGE, June 8, 1884.

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION.

The first edition of this handbook grew out of the necessities of class work at Harvard College. The development of Latin writing there and the fuller experience of the authors make some modification of the handbook now seem desirable. In the new edition we have retained the essential principle of the first edition, but we have simplified and otherwise improved the introductory remarks and the suggestions in Part II. The treatment of Latin word-arrangement, in particular, has been much more systematized, while more explicit and, we hope, more practical suggestions have been given in regard to the subjunctive.

Forty of the exercises had proved less useful than was hoped, and others have been substituted for them. In making this change, we have aimed at securing a greater proportion of easier exercises, and have rearranged and more definitely graded all. We do not, however, mean to indicate that a slavish adherence to their sequence is desirable.

June 18, 1890.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

In translating from English into Latin, the first thing to do is to find out exactly what the English means. The next thing is to put the thought (not the words) thus grasped into Latin form.

Latin differs from English fundamentally in regard to the arrangement of the words in a sentence. An ordinary English sentence, in the great majority of cases, has the following order: Subject, Verb, Object, Adverbial Modifier. So in short phrases there is a regular order: for instance, when an adjective modifies a noun it almost invariably precedes the noun; as, "a warm day," "that easy lesson"; when a prepositional phrase is connected with a noun, adjective, or verb, it follows these parts of speech; as, "the temple of Saturn," "good for ten days," "have you been to the Vatican?" In Latin, on the other hand, the words have no such fixed order based upon their grammatical relations to each other. They are arranged according to their relative importance in the thought, the most important word standing first, the next most important next, and so on. In short, simple expressions, the most important word corresponds to the word which we call the emphatic word of the expression and upon which we put the greatest stress of voice in spoken English. Thus if a Roman wished to indicate what we mean by saying "a *brave* man," he put the words in the order

FORTIS VIR; if he meant "a brave *man*," he said VIR FORTIS. So CICERO DIXIT means "*Cicero* said"; DIXIT CICERO, "Cicero *said*."

NOTE. — The pupil should acquire an exact idea of what is meant by different degrees of emphasis or relative importance, namely, that when we emphasize a word, we call particular attention to the idea denoted by it, as either (1) positively contrasted with some other idea of the same class, or (2) as negatively contrasted with other such ideas in general. Thus, when we say "a *brave* man," we are either contrasting "brave" as a quality positively and sharply with some other quality, as "cowardly," or we are calling especial attention to the idea "brave" as distinguished from other possible ideas of quality. So if we emphasize "man," we either contrast that kind of being with some other, as woman or angel, or we call particular attention to that kind of being from among all possible beings.

It will easily be seen that very delicate shades of meaning can thus be distinctly indicated in Latin by the mere *arrangement* of the words, when in English the *form* of the expression often has to be changed, or some mechanical device like italics or underlining has to be employed. Such different arrangements as the following should be carefully studied: —

(1) puer heri in portu mecum navigavit.
(2) heri puer mecum in portu navigavit.
(3) in portu heri puer mecum navigavit.
(4) mecum navigavit in portu heri puer.
(5) navigavit heri mecum in portu puer.

The pupil should observe that while the first arrangement means, "the BOY sailed with me, etc.," the second means, we sailed YESTERDAY, rather than to-day or last week; the third, we sailed in the HARBOR, not on the river or lake; the fourth, he sailed with ME; the

fifth, we SAILED rather than swam. But he should also learn to feel the more subtle differences of meaning involved in arranging the later words of the sentence in different ways. This becomes easy after a little practise in trying to understand the Latin *without translating it.*

THE PERIOD.

The Romans were especially fond of a periodic structure of sentences; that is, of long, artistically moulded sentences, consisting of a main clause and several subordinate clauses, the parts all carefully balanced, and the whole closing with the principal verb. Strictly speaking, the period should begin also with some word belonging to the main clause, but we may call any sentence a periodic sentence in which the sense is not completed until the last word is reached. Now the verb, from its nature, completes the sense unless the preceding words indicate that something else is necessary. Therefore in a periodic structure of sentences: —

(1) the verb tends to stand last in its clause;

(2) most subordinate clauses precede the main clause, or are inserted between the first word or words of the main clause and the rest of that clause;

(3) clauses of result, however, generally stand after the word on which they depend, as do other clauses which like them are prepared for by the preceding context and are necessary to its completeness.

We may note here that this periodic structure should not be abused so as to produce a great piling up of verbs at the end of a sentence, or to leave a solitary word of the main clause far away from all the other words with which in idea it is intimately connected.

CONTINUOUS WRITING.

Another very important difference between English and Latin is seen in continuous writing. In English, roughly speaking, each of the main ideas which contribute to the thought as a whole is put into a sentence by itself. These sentences are sometimes loosely joined together by words like "or," "but," "and"; sometimes succeed each other without any connective. In Latin, on the other hand, some one idea is seized as a central point and expressed in the main sentence, while all the other ideas are grouped about it in more or less subordinate relations according to the periodic construction described above. As regards the order of the clauses it should be remembered, that a clause grammatically less important than another may have more importance *in the thought*, and therefore stand earlier in the period. Common ways of expressing subordinate relations are the Ablative Absolute, the Participles of Deponent Verbs, the Secondary Tenses of the Subjunctive with *cum*, the Perfect Indicative with *ubi* or *postquam*, and the Present Indicative with *dum*. The differences in these constructions are too subtle to be profitably discussed here. Practically the student may be recommended to choose, in any given case, the construction which makes the sentence smoothest, not forgetting that variety is an excellent thing.

Successive sentences in Latin are furthermore linked together by choosing for the emphatic first place of each sentence after the first that word which, by bringing out a contrast with the end of the previous sentence, most smoothly and closely welds the combined thought together. This linking of sentence with sen-

tence enables us to secure continuous composition without resorting wholly to long sentences. Variety in length is important towards securing a good effect.

The Romans developed a particular fondness for euphonious and rhythmically flowing sentences. There were various rhetorical arrangements which tended to produce such sentences, but the Latin writers, especially Cicero, were particularly careful to choose words whose alternations of long with short syllables and accented with unaccented syllables were agreeable, and, above all, made a graceful cadence for the end of the sentence.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXERCISE.

The following exercise may serve at once to illustrate these remarks, and to introduce some more special suggestions upon Latin idiom: —

When Octavianus was at Samos after the battle of Actium, he ordered the prisoners to be summoned for trial. Among others there was brought before him an old man, named Metellus, oppressed with age and infirmities, and so much disfigured by a long beard and ragged clothes, that his son, who happened to be one of the judges, could scarcely recognize him. When, however, he at length recollected the old man's features, he was so far from being ashamed to own his father, that he ran to embrace him, and wept over him bitterly. Then returning towards the tribunal, "Cæsar," says he, "my father has been your enemy, and I your officer; he deserves to be punished, and I to be rewarded. The favor I desire of you is, either to save him on my account, or to order me to be executed with him." The rest of the judges were melted by so affecting a scene. Octavianus himself relented, and granted Metellus his life and liberty.

On reading over this exercise, we observe that the first statement in it which a Roman would take as the principal verb of a period is "was brought." He would

combine with this as a subordinate clause the statement in the first English sentence. We observe further that the whole anecdote centres about Octavian. We therefore take his name as the emphatic first word of our sentence and write *Ad Octavianum.* The next important thing is the circumstances under which the act of the main verb took place, and this we express by a clause with *cum* and the subjunctive, — pluperfect, because the ordering had been done before the bringing up of the prisoners occurred. Opinions might differ as to whether "at Samos" or "after the battle of Actium" is the more prominent idea, but perhaps there is a little more ground for making the place Samos the more prominent. This is of course expressed by the locative *Sami* and followed by *post Actiacam pugnam.* We put *Actiacam* before *pugnam*, because the fact that it was *that* battle is more important than that it was *a* battle. Then come the "prisoners," in the accusative (*captivos*) as object of the verb to come, then the thing that was done to them, expressed by the phrase *in ius vocari*, depending on the verb of ordering, *iussisset*, which ends the clause, because the fact of the ordering is less important than the nature of the order. Thus we have so far *Ad Octavianum, cum Sami post Actiacam pugnam captivos in ius vocari iussisset.*

The next important idea in the development of the thought is "among others," *inter alios.* Then we put the main verb, *adductus est*, not so much to make this verb prominent as to avoid making its subject too prominent. The subject is wanted next, however, and we write *senex quidam, Metellus nomine*, because the thought is developed better thus than by naming the *individual* old man first. Metellus was enfeebled by

age, and this we express by the participle *confectus* with the ablatives of means *aetate et debilitate* before it. Metellus was furthermore disfigured by a long beard and clothes that were ragged, and indeed to such an extent that HIS OWN son scarcely knew him. We write, therefore, *aetate et debilitate confectus atque ita barba longa squalidisque vestimentis deformatus ut ipsius filius.* Before the statement of what Metellus's son did or did not do, however, we need to account for his presence by the parenthetical clause "who happened to be *among the judges.*" The verb for recognizing is in the perfect subjunctive to express a result simply as occurring in past time, and we thus finish our first period by *qui forte inter iudices erat, vix eum agnoverit.*

The next period should tell what the son did. He was not ashamed of his father, as one might possibly suppose (hence *tamen*), but ran up to him and embraced him with tears in his eyes. This a Roman would express graphically by a sentence with *tantum aberat*, and a double subjunctive of result. We make, of course, our first emphatic word the pronoun which refers to the younger Metellus, he being the last prominent object of thought, and we make the connection with the previous sentence still smoother by using a relative pronoun. But, before stating that the son was not ashamed of his father, we need to record the circumstance that he did *finally* remember his face. This we do by a clause with *cum* and the pluperfect subjunctive, and thus have for our second period: *Qui tamen cum aliquando voltum senis recordatus esset, tantum aberat ut patris eum puderet ut adcurreret atque illum multis cum lacrumis amplecteretur.*

The next sentence consists of the verb of saying and the first part of Metellus's speech, but preceded by the

perfect participle *reversus*, indicating that he returned, and this preceded by *ad tribunal*, to show the place to which he returned, before speaking. For the direct quotation of a short speech *inquit* is regularly used and inserted after a word or two of the speech. The parts of the speech itself can be effectively balanced against each other, and the whole introduced, as in English, by the adverb of time, which thus serves to connect these sentences with the preceding, as follows: *Tum ad tribunal reversus*, "*Inimicus tuus*," *inquit*, "*Caesar, pater fuit, ego autem legatus; quare meriti sumus ego laudem, poenam ille.*"

The speech goes on to ask a favor of Octavian, which we indicate by *hoc tantum peto* and a clause with *ut* defining the *hoc.* The greater fondness of the Latin for visual connection of sentences leads us to insert *igitur*, and we soften the statement by the addition to *hoc* of *tantum* (this and no more). The sentence then takes form as follows: "*Hoc igitur tantum a te peto ut aut serves illum mea causa aut me cum illo interfici iubeas.*"

There is then left only a single period, in which the effect of the younger Metellus's speech upon the judges and upon Octavian is told. We connect this period with the preceding by the relative pronoun *cuius* agreeing with *facti*, and thus bring the anecdote to a focus as it were. This genitive depends upon an ablative, expressing the admiring wonder of the judges, and then follow *iudices* and the verb stating, in the perfect indicative passive, that they were affected. The verb is modified by *graviter* (deeply), which is made slightly emphatic by being placed before its verb. The period consists of a compound sentence whose two parts can be neatly balanced by *non modo . . . sed*, with *Octa-*

vianus as the most emphatic idea in the second member. We emphasize Octavian still more by placing an *ipse* before his name. The first effect upon him was that he was persuaded to grant the request (*exoratus*); the sec ond, that he *did* grant life and liberty to the old man. The word for "life," as the most important idea, comes first after *exoratus*, then *seni*, and we end the narrative effectively by the perfect "granted" (*concessit*), followed by *atque libertatem.* Thus: *Cuius facti admiratione non iudices solum graviter commoti sunt, sed ipse Octavianus exoratus vitam seni concessit atque libertatem.*

Observe that the emphasis of *libertatem* is thus practically the same as of *vitam* with which it is connected by *atque*, because the construction is elliptical, and, if filled out, would be *atque libertatem seni concessit.* Such an arrangement is called *Hyperbaton.*

For convenience of contemplation and study on the part of the pupil, the Latin version of the above exercise is here repeated.

Latin Version.

Ad Octavianum, cum Sami post Actiacam pugnam captivos in ius vocari iussisset, inter alios adductus est senex quidam, Metellus nomine, aetate et debilitate confectus atque ita barba longa squalidisque vestimentis deformatus ut ipsius filius, qui forte inter iudices erat, vix eum agnoverit. Qui tamen cum aliquando voltum senis recordatus esset, tantum aberat ut patris eum puderet ut adcurreret atque illum multis cum lacrumis amplecteretur. Tum ad tribunal reversus, "Inimicus tuus," inquit, "Caesar, fuit pater, ego autem legatus; quare meriti sumus ego laudem, poenam ille. Hoc igitur tantum a te peto ut aut serves illum mea causa aut me cum illo interfici iubeas." Cuius facti admiratione non iudices solum graviter commoti sunt, sed ipse Octavianus exoratus vitam seni concessit atque libertatem.

PART II.

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS.

1. Do not use an English-Latin Dictionary unless absolutely forced to do so. Sometimes, for instance, it is the quickest way to find the name of an uncommon animal or vegetable; but Latin is a language of comparatively poor vocabulary, and the individual words coincide much less with individual English words than do those of almost any other tongue. Therefore, preeminently, in translating from English into Latin, ideas and not words are to be considered; though, of course, in the few cases where the exact construction can be retained, the opportunity may be gratefully seized. This want of coincidence between the words of the two languages renders it very difficult, if not impossible, to make a good English-Latin Dictionary. It is better always to change the form into one more familiar to you, than to run to a dictionary in order to keep the English form. In fact, dictionaries of all kinds should be used as little as possible, for they have a tendency to call away the mind from the spirit of the Latin and to direct the attention unduly to phrases. The best possible way to get a vocabulary in Latin is to read pieces of classical prose WITHOUT TRANSLATING, EVEN IN THE MIND, and carefully to note the varieties of ideas expressed by the LATIN words. Accustom yourself as soon as possible to thinking in Latin.

II. A good test whether your Latin is in the Roman spirit is to make yourself as impersonal as possible, and without a thought of the English, to see whether you can thoroughly understand the Latin, and whether anything in it would strike you as a mild monstrosity if you met it in another writer.

III. The first requisite of Latin style (as of any other) is to say what you mean clearly.

IV. A love of simple, direct statement is one of the most marked characteristics of Latin style.

V. Use as subjects persons rather than things or clauses; and, on the same principle, prefer the active to the passive.

VI. Keep the subject in successive co-ordinate clauses as much as possible the same.

VII. When the subject must change, as in dialogue, indicate at once that the change has been made.

VIII. Keep the same substantive so far as possible in the same case throughout a period.

IX. Translate the TIME, and not the TENSE, of English participles and verb-forms in general. For instance, if an English present participle really denotes past time, it must be translated by a past time expression. So, too, the English present used for the future is future in Latin; the English aorist imperfect is perfect; and so on.

X. In determining the tense of your subordinate verbs and participles, be careful to make your standard of time, not the moment at which you are writing, nor the hour or day at which the events of the general narrative took or will take place, but the time denoted by THE VERB ON WHICH THE SUBORDINATE VERB OR PARTICIPLE DEPENDS.

ORDER OF WORDS.

I. In expressions consisting of two words, put first the word which in English you would utter with the greater stress of voice. Thus: "a *great* poet," MAGNUS POETA; "a great *poet*," POETA MAGNUS; "the *girl* laughed," PUELLA RISIT; "the girl *laughed*," RISIT PUELLA.

II. In expressions consisting of more than two words, put the most important word first, then consider the remaining words by themselves, and put next the most important of these, and so on. Thus if you are speaking about some foot-soldiers fighting desperately, and wish to emphasize the fighting especially, you put PUGNARUNT first, then you say ACRITER PEDITES, or PEDITES ACRITER, according as you wish to make more prominent the kind of people who fought or the way they fought. Of course, the Romans did not have to go through any such process. They did not think out their whole sentence first and arrange it afterwards, but uttered their words in the order required by the thought just as unconsciously as we do our English words.

III. If the sentence contains phrases which themselves consist of two or more words, arrange the separate words in such phrases as directed, and then treat the whole phrase as a single word, in relation to the other words of the sentence. Thus: "Caesar — equitatu praemisso — prima luce — ipse — cum duabus legionibus — profectus est," or "Praemisso equitatu — Caesar — cum legionibus duabus — luce prima — est ipse profectus," etc. The same principle applies to clauses which make up a period.

IV. In the arrangement of words, phrases, and clauses, the student should also bear in mind the periodic construction; that is to say, he should keep the sentence obviously incomplete till the last word, and not add one or more loosely connected afterthoughts. An opportunity to vary the monotony of successive periods, in which the main verb is the last word, arises whenever any phrase or clause is so related to the main verb that it can be foreshadowed by some other word and then left until after the main verb; because this foreshadowing in itself counteracts the tendency of the main verb to complete the sense, and thus close the period. Thus the object of an evidently transitive verb, or a subject which must be expressed for clearness, will often be the last word of a period, the verb standing just before it. So, especially, may clauses of result be foreshadowed by words like *adeo*, *ita*, *tantum*, or clauses of purpose by *hoc consilio*, or the like; and then left till after the main verb without destroying the periodic arrangement. It should be observed that while, of course, a slight difference of emphasis exists, according as the verb occupies the last place or the last but one, the difference in the thought is often so small that it is outweighed by the desire for variety and euphony of expression. If, however, in any case, a real difference in the logic of the thought is produced, by advancing the verb from its natural last position, this must never be done.

V. The awkward heaping of verbs at the end of a period by putting just before the main verb one or two subordinate verbs, with the meritorious design of having them at the end of their respective clauses, should be carefully avoided. The fault is frequently caused by making too emphatic, and placing early in the sentence

an infinitive, an object, or an adverb, which belongs so closely with the main verb that its proper place is just before that verb.

VI. In the effort for periodic structure do not fall into long, overloaded, and therefore obscure sentences. Sift out some of the ideas into short, crisp sentences, and thus add the effectiveness of variety to your periodic composition.

VII. The most emphatic or important word in a sentence is often suggested by the previous sentence. The thought, which naturally and logically comes first into the mind after the thoughts of that previous sentence, should, in its own sentence, be first expressed. No unnatural and mechanical construction of a sentence should be allowed, nor should any sentence be considered in isolation from its neighbors, when we look for its emphatic idea.

VIII. Certain rhetorical arrangements require notice. When the corresponding parts of two (or more) phrases or clauses are placed in the same order, the arrangement is called Anaphora. Thus: *quod si ita est, cedat, opinor*, FORUM CASTRIS, OTIUM MILITIAE, STILUS GLADIO, UMBRA SOLI. When such corresponding parts are placed in opposite orders, the arrangement is called Chiasmus or the Chiastic Arrangement. Thus: *nam* NE SUFFICIATUR CONSUL NON TIMENT; VIDENT IN TUORUM POTESTATE CONLEGARUM FORE. The rhetorical effect is not infrequently heightened by certain other details of arrangement; *e.g.* a word is sometimes made very emphatic indeed by being placed even before the particle which introduces a clause; as, HAEC *cum Caesari nuntiata essent, legatos domum abire iussit;* or again, the words of a phrase or other expression which forms a logical whole

are often separated by the insertion of one or more words; as, APTISSIMA *omnino sunt*, *Scipio et Laeli*, ARMA SENECTUTIS *artes exercitationesque virtutum.* We may here notice some of those arrangements of long and short syllables referred to in Part I. The cadences _⏑_ (*postumī*), _⏑⏑ (*mīlitem*), _⏑⏑⏑_⏓ (*adminiculōrum*), and, more than all, _⏑_⏑ (*pertinētur*), were especial favorites with Cicero, while the cadence _⏑⏑_⏑ (*i.e.* the ending of a Heroic line) was disapproved.

NOTE. — It should be borne in mind that none of the devices just treated ever overrides an emphasis required by the thought.

IX. Certain expressions acquire a sort of stereotyped order, because used originally with a particular emphasis, or more commonly with one emphasis than another. Thus *senatus populusque Romanus* is an almost invariable order, and *in custodiam dare* is vastly more common than *dare in custodiam.* So, in English, we use the expression "thrown into PRISON" much oftener than "THROWN into prison."

CONNECTIVES.

I. The simple co-ordinate connective is *et.* When two words or expressions are to be more closely connected, *que* is used, and is attached to the second word or to the first word of the second expression connected. *Atque* or *ac*, the latter used only before consonants, generally but not always throw especial emphasis upon the second thing.

II. In a series of perfectly co-ordinate words or phrases, put the connective between each two, or omit it altogether. Write accordingly, *Marcus et Publius et*

Quintus, or *Marcus*, *Publius*, *Quintus*. The latter case may be varied by attaching *que* to the last member of the series, as *urbs magna*, *valida divesque*.

III. Some co-ordinate clauses which in English usually have a connective, in Latin regularly omit the connective, its place being supplied by the arrangement of the words; as, "the wise man meets death calmly, but the fool shudders at it," *aequo animo mortem oppetit sapiens; insipiens eam reformidat*. This is called Asyndeton.

IV. Distinguish between *sed*, the common word for opposition, English "but"; *autem*, which is the mildest form of transition; and *at*, which is between these, and often introduces the supposed objection of an opponent.

V. "Or," in simple phrases or statements, is *aut* or *vel;* in double questions is *an;* in conditional clauses is *sive* or *seu*. Distinguish carefully between *aut* and *vel*. *Aut* is used where the opposition is between the things themselves; *vel*, where there is a choice dependent upon the person concerned. (Cf. its derivation from *velle*, "to wish.")

VI. Many sentences whose connection in English is left to the imagination have really various relations of subordination to each other, which are expressed in Latin by *deinde*, *autem*, *quidem*, *vero*, *igitur*, etc.

VII. Remember that *quidem*, *autem*, *vero*, *enim*, *igitur*, *interim*, *quoque*, and generally *tamen*, do not stand first in the sentence.

VIII. "And not," as well as "or not," in clauses of purpose and in hortatory clauses, is *neve*.

IX. The Romans had a general tendency to combine the negative in a sentence with the connective, and so wrote *nec*, *nec umquam*, etc., rather than *et non*, *et numquam*, etc.

X. The relative is often used first in a sentence to connect it with the previous sentence, where in English a personal or demonstrative pronoun with a conjunction is used. Thus: *Pericles cives suos docuit certo tempore tenebras fieri necesse esse cum tota se luna sub orbem solem subiecisset:* QUOD (= *et hoc*) *cum docuisset populum liberavit metu.*

THE RELATIVE.

I. The Latin — like the English — relative stands at the beginning of its clause, or with a governing preposition before it.

II. The relative cannot be omitted in Latin, as it can in English, in phrases like "the book you are reading."

III. Two relative clauses referring to the same antecedent sometimes have, as in English, the relative repeated, with or without a conjunction; sometimes take a demonstrative pronoun instead of the second relative; as, "Brutus whom Cæsar had pardoned and afterwards treated as a son," *Brutus cui Caesar ignoverat et eum postea pro filio habuerat.*

IV. The relative clause frequently precedes the clause which contains its grammatical antecedent; e.g. *Quae de animorum inmortalite dicit Cicero ea sunt profecto plena pulchritudinis.*

V. Do not forget the use of the relative to connect its sentence with the preceding, where English uses a personal or demonstrative pronoun with a conjunction (see X. above).

VI. While relatives are very characteristic of Latin style, the student is cautioned against that excessive use of this construction which produces a very clumsy paragraph.

PARTICIPLES.

I. Before using the present participle in Latin, be sure that the act denoted by it is coincident with that of the verb on which the participle depends. Unless this is the case, use a clause with *dum*, *cum*, or the like.

II. Latin participles are but rarely used as attributive adjectives, and the idea expressed by participles so used in English must be given in Latin by various other constructions, according to circumstances. Among these constructions, a relative clause is particularly common.

III. Guard especially against using the perfect passive participle for the English perfect active participle, — *i.e.* do not translate "having come to Rome" by *Romam adventus*. Latin verbs, except deponents, having no perfect active participle, must supply the deficiency by temporal clauses or ablatives absolute. In using this ablative absolute, be particularly careful about the voice.

IV. In deponent verbs, however, the perfect participle regularly has an active sense. Sometimes it has the force of a present participle; regularly so, *ratus*, *solitus*, *veritus*.

V. The perfect participle, whether deponent or passive in meaning, is one of the commonest constructions in Latin. It is used not only in the ablative absolute, but in agreement with the subject or object of the verb. By taking advantage of it, the student will save himself from many an awkward finite verb, and will give at once an idiomatic flavor to his style.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

I. As a practical help towards using the Latin subjunctive correctly, clauses may be divided into two classes: those which always take the subjunctive, and those which sometimes take the subjunctive and sometimes the indicative, according to the subtle turn which the writer wishes to give to his thought.

II. The kinds of clauses which always take the subjunctive are:

(*a*) Clauses of Purpose;
(*b*) Clauses of Result;
(*c*) Clauses of Wishing;
(*d*) Indirect Questions;
(*e*) Subordinate Clauses of Indirect Discourse;
(*f*) Clauses of Condition contrary to fact;
(*g*) Clauses with the particles of comparison *quasi*, *velut si*, etc.;
(*h*) Clauses of Command, Exhortation, Entreaty, and Prohibition (except where, as in English, a second person imperative can be used).
(*i*) Potential Sentences and Dubitative Questions.
(*k*) Clauses of Proviso with *dum*, *modo*, *dummodo*.

III. The kinds of clauses which take sometimes the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive, are:

(*a*) Relative Clauses (not denoting purpose or result);
(*b*) Conditional Clauses not contrary to fact;
(*c*) Concessive Clauses;
(*d*) Temporal Clauses;
(*e*) Causal Clauses.

IV. With relative clauses the subjunctive characterizes a class, and indicates that the thing said applies to the antecedent as a member of such a class, — *i.e. is qui dicat* means "*a* man who says," "any man who should say," etc.; while *is qui dicit* means "*the* man who as a fact does say."

V. So in clauses of time with the relative *cum*, the subjunctive characterizes *a* time such that at it something takes place, took place, or is likely to take place; while the indicative marks as a date *the* time of an occurrence told in the main clause. In the secondary tenses the Romans preferred to characterize the time, — *i.e.* to use the subjunctive, — where we should often not do so.

VI. In conditional clauses, and in concessive clauses with *si*, *etsi*, *etiamsi*, the subjunctive practically serves simply to put the case more mildly as an argument, as when we say "would" and "should," rather than "is," or "will be" and "shall be."

VII. In concessive clauses with *quamquam* the indicative is the classical mood; with *licet*, *ut*, *quamvis*, and *cum*, the subjunctive is used, because such clauses are developments from regular subjunctive ideas.

VIII. In temporal clauses with *dum*, *antequam*, and *priusquam*, the indicative, as with *cum*, simply dates the occurrence; the subjunctive indicates an influence exerted by the act of its clause upon the main clause, often hinting at the purpose for which the main act was done, or at something which the main act was designed to prevent. *Ubi*, *postquam*, *ut*, *simul ac* are used almost exclusively to date occurrences, and therefore take the indicative.

IX. In causal clauses with *quod* (or *quia*) the subjunctive is really a subjunctive of indirect discourse;

i.e. the reason is given as one assigned by or influencing somebody other than the speaker, — or the speaker viewed by himself as if he were some one else, — most commonly the subject of the main clause.

X. On this same principle of indirect discourse, a verb is sometimes put in the subjunctive, because the idea expressed by it is looked at merely as part of the thought expressed by a subjunctive (or infinitive) clause on which it depends.

INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

I. Observe that the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is perfect, present or future, according as you mean that the thing has happened *before* the words were said or thought, — or is happening *at the time* of speaking or thinking, — or is *yet to come*.

II. The tenses of the subjunctive are secondary or primary, according as you conceive the thoughts to be past or not past.

III. *Se* and *suus*, in indirect discourse, regularly refer to the speaker or the thinker, but may refer to other persons if no ambiguity arises therefrom; *illum* is commonly used of the person addressed.

IV. Contrary-to-fact conditions require special notice, because of the danger of ambiguity in indirect discourse. For instance, the two sentences, *Si Romae fuit, Caesarem vidit*, and *Si Romae fuisset Caesarem vidisset*, would both after *dixit* be [*Dixit*] *si Romae fuisset Caesarem vidisse*. To avoid this ambiguity, the Romans wrote for the contrary-to-fact condition *Dixit si Romae fuisset se Caesarem visurum fuisse*.

v. There being no future or future perfect subjunctive, the nearest tense must do duty for them in indirect discourse. Thus the pluperfect, when the point of view is secondary, often stands for a future perfect. If, however, it is important to bring out the future notion sharply, the future participle with *esse* (e.g. *facturus sit* or *esset*) must be used.

CHOICE OF WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS.

i. Do not aim at the extraordinary in words or constructions, but between two expressions, one of which is common, the other used once by Cicero or Cæsar, always chose the common one.

ii. While it is a hindrance to style to label particular Latin words with the meanings of particular English words, it is, on the contrary, a great help to fix in the mind, and have ready to order, various favorite Latin expressions, or single words and turns of thought, such as *constat*, the perfect participle of deponent verbs, etc.

iii. Remember that Latin has a fancy for verbal constructions rather than nouns, and that abstract nouns, except in philosophical writings, are to be often transformed. For instance, "the subject of discussion" is in Latin *id de quo agitur*. Yet we should notice that there is a difference in abstract notions. Simple ones like "joy" and "freedom" are common. More subtle ones are much less developed in Latin than in English (cf. "ostentation").

iv. Do not be deceived by the empty appearance of likeness between certain Latin words and the English words derived from them. Latin has passed through

many changes, and as the English words were formed long after classical times, the words from which they were derived may in classical times either have had different meanings or not have existed at all.

v. Be especially on your guard against mistakes arising from the fact that Latin words, though used in *some*, are not used in *all*, the meanings of their English derivatives. An example is *considero*, which is used in the sense of "observe," "reflect upon," etc., but not in the sense of "estimate," or "judge to be so and so."

vi. Pay careful attention to synonyms used in combinations, when if used separately they would not have to be so sharply distinguished; for example, when *pueritia* and *adulescentia* are used together, they mark two definite periods of life, although either used separately may roughly designate either age.

vii. English "as" must be translated variously, according to the relation it expresses; for it may introduce a reason, an appositive, a relative clause, or a clause of almost any kind.

viii. A special instance of confusion, caused by translating words instead of ideas, is where Latin distinguishes shades of meaning unknown to English; as, *hostis*, "public," *inimicus*, "private," enemy.

ix. A still more disastrous instance is where single English words express shades of meaning which in Latin are implied in the context, in case no ambiguity can arise. For instance, "society," "association," "partnership," "alliance" give shades of meaning which in Latin the one word *societas* will ordinarily express. If, however, there is real danger of ambiguity, the distinct meaning must be brought out by amplification; as, *societas et foedus* for "alliance."

x. In dealing with metaphors, conventional phrases, etc., be *particularly careful* to translate the thought, not the word, and avoid needless synonyms and repetitions.

xi. Bear in mind the etymological meaning of words like *redundare*, and thus avoid mixing metaphors.

xii. A brilliant instance of the Roman fondness for the simple is the use of *res*, *ratio*, etc., with such manifold shades of meaning. *Res* is "a blank cheque, so to say, to be filled up from the context to the requisite amount of meaning."

xiii. So, among verbs, *esse* is frequently used where we use a more expressive word: for instance, "War was going on between the Sabines and Romans"; in Latin, *Inter Sabinos Romanosque bellum erat.*

xiv. Avoid double terms to express single ideas, as is done in English by "a feeling of shame," "a sense of duty." In Latin, the single words, *pudor*, *officium*, are generally sufficient.

xv. Where in English one part of a compound idea is made to depend upon the other, especially as an adjective or genitive, the Romans, by a different habit of thought, often combined two nouns on an even footing. The Latin construction is called Hendiadys, and an example is *religio metusque* for "superstitious fear."

PRONOUNS.

i. When using a demonstrative to foreshadow a statement or quotation, if that statement be emphatic in contrast to others, use *ille* (especially *illud*); otherwise, *hic* and *hoc.*

II. *Iste* refers to the second person, or to the subject of discussion in dialogues, *hic* to the first person, and *ille* to the third.

III. *Idem* and *ipse* are often used agreeing with the subject, where in English occur expressions like "all the same," "at once," "again" (*idem*), or "very," "the fact of" (*ipse*).

IV. Observe that *ipse* almost always agrees with the subject, even when the emphasis seems to be on the object. Thus: "he kills himself," *ipse se interficit.*

V. Remember that *se* and *suus* as a rule refer to the grammatical subject of the clause in which they stand; but when no ambiguity can arise they refer to the real subject of thought, though this be different from the grammatical subject. If they stand in a dependent sentence, whose subject is insignificant compared with the subject of the principal sentence, they refer to the latter. Otherwise the word for "self," "own," referring in a subordinate sentence to the subject of the principal sentence, is *ipse*. In two closely connected co-ordinate sentences *ipse* is similarly used; as, "Cæsar was absent, but his own lieutenant led the line," *Caesar aberat sed ipsius legatus aciem duxit.*

VI. The Latin frequently uses the personal pronoun of the first person in the plural *nos* for the singular *ego*, but never the second plural *vos* for the singular *tu*, as "you" is used in English instead of "thou."

VII. Of the double forms of the genitive plural of the personal pronouns the form in *um* is partitive, the form in *i* used for other relations. Thus: *quis vestrum meminit nostri*, "what one of you remembers me?"

VIII. Do not confuse *alter*, "the other," used where two persons or things are spoken of, *alius*, "another,"

where more than two are spoken of, and *ceteri* or *reliqui*, "all others," "the rest." *Alterius* is, however, generally used for the genitive of *alius*.

IX. So do not confuse *uterque*, "each," of two, with *quisque*, "each," "every," of more than two. *Omnis* is sometimes used in the singular nearly in the sense of *quisque*, but is more indefinite.

X. The distinction just mentioned in regard to the number referred to holds also between the interrogatives *uter*, "which," of two, and *quis*, "which," of several.

XI. Of the indefinite pronouns, *quidam* is most definite, *nonnullus*, *nonnemo*, *nonnihil* next, then *quispiam*, and *aliquis*, while *quisquam* is the weakest of all. Remember that the form *quis* is used for *aliquis*, after *si*, *nisi*, *ne*, *num*. *Quivis* and *quilibet* are universals, and the second part of these compounds may be affected by indirect discourse. Instead of *non quisquam*, *non ullus*, *non quidquam*, *non uter*, use respectively *nemo*, *nullus*, *nihil*, *neuter*. Compare among verbs *nego* for *dico* . . . *non*.

XII. *Nemo* and *quisquam* are substantive pronouns; *nullus* and *ullus* the corresponding adjective pronouns; but instead of the genitives of *nemo* and *quisquam*, *nullius* and *ullius* are used. *Quisquam* and *ullus* are used in negative sentences, or sentences implying a negative, where in positive sentences *aliquis*, *quispiam*, or *nonnullus* is used.

XIII. The words of indefinite number run from few to many in about the following order: *perpauci*, *pauci*, *aliquot*, *nonnulli*, *plures*, *multi*, *plurimi*, *plerique*.

CERTAIN SPECIAL SUGGESTIONS.

I. Ablative Absolute. — Do not use this construction when the noun in it must be repeated as subject or object of the sentence. The participle can be more simply attached at once to that subject or object.

II. Adjective Connections. — If you use two adjectives with one noun be sure to connect them by a conjunction. Thus: — "many great battles," *multae et magnae pugnae*.

III. Adjectives for Adverbs. — An adjective is sometimes used in Latin to indicate the feeling with which a person does something, or the order in which something happens to him or is done by him, when in English an adverb of manner or order is used, as *hoc invitus feci, primi in urbem ruimus.*

IV. Agent and Means. — Distinguish carefully between the voluntary agent (ablative with *ab*, *a*), the involuntary agent, person treated as means (accusative with *per*), and the means (ablative alone).

V. Case Change in Objects. — Remember that with two or more verbs taking objects in different cases, pronouns must be used to refer to all the objects except the first; as, "Cæsar pardoned Brutus and sent him to Sicily," *Caesar Bruto ignovit atque eum in Siciliam misit.*

VI. Commands, etc. — Commands in the second person are expressed by the imperative; prohibitions to a particular person by *noli* with the infinitive, by *cave* with a subjunctive, or by *ne* with the perfect subjunctive.

VII. Comparison Clauses with Quam. — Clauses of comparison after *quam* may take the same construction that went before, or may be put in the subjunctive,

with or without *ut*. The same thing is true of clauses with *nisi*.

VIII. Comparatives without Quam. — Remember that comparatives are used without *quam* only when the first of the things compared is in the nominative or accusative.

IX. Cum Enclitic. — Do not forget that with personal and relative pronouns the preposition *cum* is attached enclitically; as, *secum*, *quocum*.

X. Dates. — Officially the year was expressed in Latin by naming the consuls. For other purposes the date from the founding of the city given in ordinal numbers might be used, the Romans not having the gift of prophecy necessary to say B.C.

XI. Dative Retained. — Do not change an object in the dative into the subject of a passive verb. Such verbs can only be used impersonally in the passive, and retain the dative; as, "Cicero was persuaded," *Ciceroni persuasum est*.

XII. Etiam and Quoque. — Of the two words for "also," "even," *etiam* generally comes before, *quoque* after, the word it emphasizes.

XIII. Exclamatory Infinitive. — The infinitive may be used to express surprise, sometimes alone, but perhaps oftener with the interrogative enclitic *ne;* as, "to think that Brutus should have done so," *Brutumne ita fecisse*.

XIV. Gerundive Idiom. — Do not forget the use of the gerundive construction in place of verbal or abstract nouns; as *difficultates belli gerendi* "difficulties in the conduct of the war."

XV. Gerundive of Utor, etc. — Remember that the gerundive construction, not the gerund, is regularly used in verbs which govern the ablative or dative, but

did once take the accusative, like *utor, fruor, medeor;* as, *ad vitam fruendam.*

XVI. Gerundive with Ablative Absolute, etc. — Remember that the perfect passive participle refers to past time, and when you need a participle to picture a future situation, or a present situation with a tendency to the future, the gerundive is to be used. This distinction applies particularly to the ablative absolute.

XVII. Iam and Nunc. — *Nunc* (now, at present) looks at the present moment in itself; *iam* (now, already) looks at it as a point in a series.

XVIII. Indefinite Article (English). — The indefinite article, if unemphatic, is not expressed in Latin; if emphatic, is represented by *quidam, aliquis,* or *is,* according to the strength of emphasis.

XIX. Letter Addresses. — In letter-writing the Romans combined the address at the beginning and the signature into the formula (X) *suo* (Y) S. D. = *salutem dicit,* and placed this expression at the head of the epistle. The date is either omitted, or placed at the end, or casually mentioned as a part of the letter itself.

XX. Locative Apposition. — A noun in apposition with a locative is put in the ablative, and usually takes a preposition; as, "Cicero was born at Arpinum, a small town in Latium," *Cicero Arpini parvo in oppido Lati natus est.* So, too, a common noun in apposition with an accusative of the limit of motion must have a preposition.

XXI. "Might," "Could," etc. — Distinguish between "might," "could," etc., used as auxiliaries in potential clauses, and the same words used as the imperfects of "may," "can," etc. The first sense is expressed in Latin by the mood, the last sense by *possum* and certain

impersonals like *licet*, etc. So, also, do not confuse "would," when a conditional, with "would" used as the historical tense of the future "will." Notice, too, that while the mutilated state of English verbs requires the use of phrases like "might have done," the Latin puts more logically the infinitive in the present, and the main verb in the past. Thus: — *facere potuit.*

XXII. Mille and Milia. — *Mille* is singular and indeclinable, and generally used as an adjective; *milia* is a plural substantive followed by the genitive, and is declinable. Thus: — *mille boves*, but *usque ad tria milia hominum.*

XXIII. Ne or Non? — The negative used with imperatives and with final, hortatory, and optative clauses, is *ne;* with all other clauses, *non.*

XXIV. Nescio quis. — Observe that *nescio quis* is practically an indefinite pronoun, and has no effect upon the mood of the following verb.

XXV. Numerals (Compound). — Compound numerals are used in the same way in Latin as in English. When the greater number precedes, the connective is omitted, except in numbers above one hundred, where it may be used or omitted as one pleases. When the smaller number precedes, the connective is inserted — *viginti quinque* or *quinque et viginti.*

XXVI. Numerals (Distributive). — Distributive numerals ordinarily mean so many apiece, but when they are used with numeral adverbs, *ter deni*, *vicies centena*, or with plurals which either have no singular or have a different meaning in the singular, they have the meaning of common numerals; as, *bina castra*, "two camps."

XXVII. "Ought," "Must," etc. — Distinguish between *oportet* and *debere* which denote a duty or moral obliga-

tion, *necesse est* and *non posse quin* which denote a physical necessity or something unavoidable, and *decet* which is milder and denotes a matter of propriety. The gerundive with *esse* (e. g. *faciendum esse*) may be used of either physical or moral necessity.

XXVIII. Passive of Things. — Avoid making a thing without life the subject of a verb expressing activity.

XXIX. Personal Construction. — Instead of such expressions as "it is said that Scipio was a great general," the Romans, preferring a personal to an impersonal construction said, "Scipio is said to have been," etc.

XXX. Plural for Singular. — In phrases like "it delights the eye," "the immortality of the soul," "man," used for "mankind," the Latin requires the plural; as, for the second example, *animorum immortalitas.*

XXXI. Postpositive Words Distinguished. — Do not confuse the following words: —

quoque, "also," simply adding something new.
tamen, which opposes something to what has been said and means "yet," "however."
vero, which opposes a real case to a preceding supposed one, and means "but," "in fact."
quidem, which merely emphasizes the word before it or the clause in which it stands second.
autem, which adds to what has been said something in a slightly different line, where we use sometimes "but," sometimes "however," sometimes "and," or a parenthetical "now."
igitur, which suggests a reason or inference more mildly than *itaque*.
enim, which gives a reason less forcibly than *nam*.

XXXII. Preposition Phrases. — A conspicuous case of the necessity of considering the thought, rather than the words, is furnished by English preposition phrases. For instance, "by the town" is *praeter oppidum;* "by

stratagem" is simply *dolo;* "by tens" is *deni;* "by his lieutenant" is *per legatum*, or *a legato.*

XXXIII. Preposition Repeated.—The preposition must be repeated with several nouns, unless they form one idea; and, conversely, two prepositions cannot often be used with one noun.

XXXIV. Present Passive (English).—The real English present passive is translated by the Latin present passive because it represents an action as going on. The apparently similar form in which the participle really has an adjective force, for instance, "The city is fortified," represents a completed action, and must be translated by the perfect passive in Latin.

XXXV. Proper Names, etc.—Avoid the repetition of proper names as much as possible, and of general expressions representing persons, like "the good consul," "the adventurer," etc. Use pronouns instead, and if your pronouns do not seem to refer easily and naturally be sure that the thought is not arranged in Roman fashion, and try it again.

XXXVI. Purpose.—The most general way of expressing purpose is by *ut* or *ne* with the subjunctive; but, if the purpose is connected with some particular word, the relative is to be used. This is also true of result except that *ut non* is used instead of *ne.* The gerund and gerundive of purpose are used in short expressions, where their literal translations would be, if not approved, yet intelligible in English. With verbs of motion, the supine in *um* is the favorite construction, and with comparatives, *quo* is used rather than *ut.*

XXXVII. Recordor, etc.—Keep well in mind certain prominent exceptions to well-known rules; for instance, *recordor* and *miseror* with the accusative where you had

expected the genitive, *iubeo* and *veto* with the infinitive, where you had expected the subjunctive, *iuvo* with the accusative where you had expected the dative.

XXXVIII. Substantive Clauses. — Substantive clauses, or clauses equivalent to nouns, have four forms, according to the shape in which the thought they represent would most naturally occur to the mind in independent form. If the thought would appear as a statement, the substantive clause is practically indirect discourse, and is expressed by the accusative and infinitive; if, as a question, the subjunctive of indirect question is used; if, as a command or result, the subjunctive with *ut* must be employed; if, as a simple fact, *quod* with the indicative is the special form of substantive clause to be preferred.

XXXIX. Substantive Connections. — Remember that the relation between two substantives is regularly expressed by putting one of them in the genitive, depending upon the other, and do not try to express this relation by prepositions, thus making them a sort of conjunction. For instance, "a town in Greece" is *oppidum Graeciae*, not *in Graecia*.

XL. Tense Affinities. — Though, as has been said, it is rarely true of moods, it is true of tenses that certain words have an affinity for certain tenses; namely *dum* for the present, *ubi* and *postquam* for the perfect; though, if it is important to mark a particular time, the general preference must be cheerfully resigned.

XLI. "That of," "The One," etc. — In comparisons where English uses phrases like "the one," "that of," Latin simply omits all such phrases. "The courage of Scipio was greater than that of Metellus," is *Scipionis virtus maior erat quam Metelli*.

XLII. Time of Day and Night. — The time of day was counted by twelve hours, beginning with sunrise; the time of night by four watches, beginning with sunset.

XLIII. Verbs Compounded with Ad, Ante, Com-, etc. — Be watchful over verbs compounded with *ad*, *ante*, *com-*, *in*, *inter*, *ob*, *post prae*, *sub*, *super*. When they have a really transitive force, and so require a direct object, they take it in the accusative. Some of them take the accusative in one sense, the dative in another; as,

	With Acc.	With Dat.
consulere	to ask advice of	to take thought for
prospicere	to foresee	to provide for

XLIV. "Yes" and "No." — In answers to direct questions, instead of searching for a word for "yes" or "no," remember that the Roman habit was to repeat the emphatic word of the question, with or without *non*. For instance, "Have you seen him? Yes," *Vidistine illum? Vidi.* Yet, occasionally, *etiam* was used for "yes," and *non* alone for "no."

PART III.

EXERCISES.

1. The Latins founded a colony on the Tiber to guard the river against the Etruscans of whom they were afraid. This colony was called Rome, and as it was founded upon the great river of that part of Italy, it soon became of importance for trade, as well as for keeping off the Etruscans. Now this is all we can really know about the founding of Rome, but the Romans themselves tell this story about it. A wicked king called Amulius ruled in Alba Longa. He had robbed his elder brother of the kingdom, and put his sons to death, but a daughter of his had twin sons whose father was the god Mars. Amulius ordered them to be thrown into the river Tiber; but they floated down the stream till they stuck near the place where Rome was afterwards built. They were fed first by a she-wolf, and afterwards were found and brought up by a shepherd. When they had grown up they were made known to their grandfather, whom they restored to his throne after slaying the wicked Amulius. Then the youths, whose names were Romulus and Remus, determined to build a city on the Tiber. They quarrelled whose city it should be, and Remus was killed in the quarrel. So Romulus built the city, and called it Rome after his own name, and was its first king, and made his city great in war. He was taken up to heaven by his father Mars, and was worshipped by the Romans as a god.

2. When all was ready, Lucius waited for the season of the harvest, when the commons who loved the king were in the fields getting in their corn. Then he went suddenly

to the forum with a band of armed men, and seated himself on the king's throne before the doors of the senate-house, where he was wont to judge the people. And they ran to the king and told him that Lucius was sitting on his throne. Upon this the old man went in haste to the forum, and when he saw Lucius he asked him wherefore he had dared to sit on the king's seat. And Lucius answered that it was his father's throne and that he had more right in it than Servius. Then he seized the old man and threw him down the steps of the senate-house to the ground, and he went into the senate-house and called together the senators, as if he were already king. Servius meanwhile arose and began to make his way home to his house; but when he was come near to the Esquiline Hill, some whom Lucius had sent after him overtook him and slew him and left him in his blood in the middle of the way. Then Tullia mounted her chariot, and drove into the forum, and called Lucius out of the senate-house, and saluted him as king. But he bade her go home; and as she was going home the body of her father was lying in the way. The driver of the chariot stopped and showed to Tullia where her father lay in his blood. But she bade him drive on, and so went to her home with her father's blood upon the wheels of her chariot.

3. There was a wooden bridge over the Tiber at the bottom of the hill, and the Etruscans followed close upon the Romans to win the bridge, but a single man, named Horatius Cocles, stood fast upon the bridge and faced the Etruscans; two others then resolved to stay with him, Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius; and these three men stopped the Etruscans, while the Romans, who had fled over the river, were busy in cutting away the bridge. When it was all nearly cut away, Horatius made his two companions leave him and pass over the bridge into the city. Then he stood alone on the bridge and defied all the army of the Etruscans; and they showered their javelins upon him, and

he caught them on his shield and stood yet unhurt. But just as they were rushing on him to drive him from his post by main force, the last beams of the bridge were cut away, and it all fell with a mighty crash into the river; and while the Etruscans wondered and stopped in their course, Horatius turned and prayed to the god of the river, "O Father Tiber, I pray thee to receive these arms, and me who bear them, and to let thy waters befriend and save me." Then he leaped into the river, and though the darts fell thick around him, yet they did not hit him, and he swam across to the city, safe and sound.

4. At last, only sixteen years after the driving out of the kings, the plebeians thought that this state of things could not be borne any longer. So they marched out of Rome in a body, and took up a position on a hill a few miles away from the city, and declared that they would found there a new plebeian city, and leave the patricians to live in Rome by themselves. You may imagine the patricians did not like being left in this way, so they sent to the plebeians a wise man, Menenius Agrippa, to persuade them to come back. He told them a fable: "Once upon a time the other members of the body conspired against the belly; they declared that they had all the work to do, while the belly lay quietly in the middle of the body and enjoyed without any labor everything they brought it. So they all struck work, and agreed to starve the belly into subjection. But while they starved the belly, the whole body began to waste away, and all the members found that they were becoming weaker themselves. So you plebeians will find that in trying to starve out the patricians you will ruin yourselves." The plebeians thought there was much truth in this and they agreed to go back on condition they might have officers of their own to protect them. These officers were called Tribunes, and their duty was to protect all plebeians from wrong. They could deliver any man from the patrician

magistrates; their houses were to be places of refuge for any one who was pursued; their doors were to stand open day and night. Moreover any one who laid hands upon them was to be outlawed. Their persons were to be sacred as those of heralds.

5. The Roman people scarcely ever underwent a greater danger than in the war with the Volscians. Coriolanus, leading the enemy, in a series of uninterrupted victories had already advanced almost to the city walls; already had the Romans given up all hope of peace, and were preparing to endure a siege; already the women filled the streets with their cries, and ran to all the sacred places, especially to the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus. There, on the top of the steps of the temple, Valeria, turning to the women, said, "There is one means of safety still left, and it depends upon you alone." When all, with tears, begged to know what they could do, she said: "Come all of you with me to the house of Veturia and implore her to have pity upon the city, and especially the women, and to go into the enemy's camp, and beseech her son with prayers and tears not to bring yet greater harm upon his country." Thereupon the whole company went to Veturia, who, in wonder, asked why they came in such numbers to her debased and unfortunate house. Then Valeria embraced her knees, and said: "Be reconciled and hear the prayer of those who have done no wrong against thee or thy son, but who, if the city be taken, must suffer the utmost misfortunes. Go, beg thy son to make peace with his countrymen and return to his native land. If thou bringest him back, thou wilt win undying glory, and make the women honored in the sight of the men, for having ended a war which they themselves could not end." Veturia granted their prayer and saved the city.

6. Another story which the Romans tell of a war against the Æquians, shows how simple their customs were, and

how all the citizens served the state. The consul Minucius was warring against the Æquians, but they had shut him up in a steep, narrow valley, and guarded the mouth of it so that he could not get out. News was brought to Rome, and the Senate said, "There is only one man who can help us: let us make Lucius Quinctius dictator." So they sent messengers to Lucius Quinctius whose surname was *the curly-haired*. He was at his farm on which he lived, and was ploughing without his cloak, when the messengers of the Senate found him. So he called to his wife to bring him his cloak, that he might show respect to the messengers. They then hailed him as dictator, and brought him to Rome. And he ordered all who could bear arms to get ready to march, and to take with them provisions and twelve long stakes of wood. So he marched out with his army, and came upon the Æquians by night. His soldiers raised a shout, which cheered the consul and his men, who knew that help had come, and so fell upon the Æquians. But Lucius bade his men dig a ditch around the Æquians and make a hedge round them with their wooden stakes. This they did all night, and when it was morning the Æquians found themselves shut in in their turn. Then they surrendered to the dictator; and so he delivered the consul and his army, and came back to Rome in triumph. But he laid down his office of dictator at once, and went back to his farm.

7. Finally the plebeians asked that the consuls and tribunes also should cease, and that ten new magistrates should be elected from the patricians and plebeians alike. These magistrates were to find out the laws, and write them up in the forum, where the people gathered together, so that every one should know them, and no man should be unjustly oppressed. Till this time the patricians had kept the laws to themselves, and so had been able to judge the plebeians as they chose. For ten years there were bitter

struggles about this proposal till, at last, ten new magistrates, called from their number Decemviri, were appointed. They published the laws to the great joy of the plebeians. But one among the Decemviri, Appius Claudius, a patrician, was a proud and haughty man, who would always have his own way. He wished to have for his servant the daughter of a plebeian called Virginius, so he got a man to declare that Virginia, as the girl was called, was not really the daughter of Virginius, but a slave of his. The case was brought before Appius Claudius to try, and Appius, of course, decided that Virginia was a slave. Then her father, who was a soldier, and had hurried to Rome from the camp, led his daughter to one side to say "Farewell" to her; but he seized a butcher's knife from the market-place, and plunged it into his daughter's heart, saying, "It is the only way to keep you free." Then the people in horror rose against Appius, and drove out the Decemviri, and elected consuls and tribunes again. Still, the plebeians had now got the laws, and so grew more powerful, and after the Decemvirate they were not so wretched as they had been before.

8. The Romans had lost so many men in the battle that they had no hope of defending the city. So the people all fled, except a few of the bravest soldiers, who shut themselves up in the *Capitol*, which was the castle of Rome, determined that it should not be taken. There stayed also some of the oldest patricians, who would not leave in their old age the city they loved so well. They all dressed themselves in their best robes, and sat in their seats in the senate-house. When the Gauls rushed in, and found no one in the city except these old men who sat in silence, they were astonished. At last one of the Gauls began to stroke the long white beard of Marcus Papirius, who was one of the priests. He in anger struck the Gaul with his ivory sceptre which he held in his hand. Then the Gauls rushed upon

them and killed them all, and set fire to the city. Next the Gauls tried to take the Capitol, but they could not find any way up to it, because the rock was steep. At last they found a path, and one night a band of Gauls climbed up so secretly that no one of the Romans heard them. But there were in the Capitol some geese, which were sacred to the goddess Juno; and as the Gauls reached the top these geese began to cackle, and awoke a brave Roman, Marcus Manlius, who was just in time to find the foremost Gaul clambering over the edge of the rock. He pushed him back with his shield and the Gaul fell; as he fell he knocked over many of those who were following him, and the Romans had time to awake and drive the rest back. So the Capitol was saved and after awhile the Gauls went back to their own country, carrying their plunder with them.

9. At last the Sabines made a vow that if they should conquer their enemies, all the living creatures born in their land in that year should be devoted to the gods as sacred. They did conquer, and they offered in sacrifice accordingly all the lambs and calves and pigs of that year; and such animals as might not be sacrificed they redeemed. But still their land would not yield its fruits, and when they thought what was the cause of it, they considered that their vow had not been duly performed; for all their own children born within that year had been kept back from the gods, and had neither been sacrificed nor redeemed. So they devoted all their children to the god Mamers; and when they were grown up, they sent them away to become a new people in a new land. When the young men set out on their way it happened that a bull went before them, and they thought that Mamers had sent him to be their guide, and they followed him. He laid himself down to rest for the first time when he had come to the land of the Opicans, and the Sabines thought that this was a sign to them, and they fell upon the Opicans who dwelt in scattered

villages without walls to defend them, and they drove them out, and took possession of their land. Then they offered the bull in sacrifice to Mamers, who had sent him to be their guide, and a bull was the device which they bore in after ages, and they themselves were no more called Sabines, but they took a new name and were called Samnites.

10. It was well for Rome that she had made the Latins contented, for soon afterwards began the second Samnite war, which lasted for twenty-two years. It was a war in which both sides fought hard, for they knew that the people which won would be the chief state in Italy. The Samnites had a very brave general, called Gaius Pontius, who once very nearly destroyed the Roman army. He made his army pretend to run away, and the Romans followed him by the shortest way, till they were shut up in a valley, with the Samnites all around them, and could not get out. They had to surrender to Pontius, and he made peace with them, and let them go free. But the Romans at home would not hear of the peace; they said that no peace was rightly made except by the Senate, and they sent back as prisoners to Pontius the consuls who had made the peace. Pontius said he might have killed all the army if he had chosen, and he could have forced them to make peace; now, if they would not have peace, let them put their army back again in the pass of Caudium. But the Romans refused, saying they had sent him the consuls who had done the wrong, and that was all they were bound to do. Pontius sent the consuls back, and the war went on. The Romans did not act fairly in this, but they were always a people who thought they had done their duty if they kept the letter of the law. As the war went on the Etruscans became frightened at Rome's power, and helped the Samnites, but they too were beaten. At last the Samnites were obliged to lay down their arms.

11. When the armies closed, the Roman left wing strug-

gled vigorously against the numbers and strength and courage of the Gauls. Twice, it is said, did the Roman and Campanian cavalry charge with effect the Gaulish horsemen; but in their second charge they were encountered by a force wholly strange to them, the war chariots of the enemy, which broke in upon them at full speed, and with the rattling of their wheels, and their unwonted appearance, so startled the horses of the Romans that they could not be brought to face them, and horses and men fled in confusion. The Roman cavalry were driven back upon their infantry; the first line of the legions was broken, and the Gauls following their advantage, pressed on with the masses of their infantry. Decius strove in vain to stop the flight of his soldiers; one way alone was left by which he might yet serve his country; he bethought him of his father at the battle by Vesuvius, and calling to M. Livius, one of the pontifices who attended him in the field, he desired him to dictate to him the fit words for self-devotion. Then in the same dress, and with all the same ceremonies, he pronounced also the same form of words which had been uttered by his father, and devoting himself, and the host of the enemy with him, to the grave and to the powers of the dead, he rode into the midst of the Gaulish ranks and was slain. His soldiers, thinking that he had thus paid the price for their victory, kept up the fight until help came to them from the right wing.

12. Pyrrhus resolved to attack Curius before his colleague joined him, and he planned an attack upon his camp by night. He set out by torch-light with the flower of his soldiers and the best of his elephants, but the way was long and the country overgrown with woods, and intersected with deep ravines; so that his progress was slow, and at last the lights were burned out and the men were continually missing their way. Day broke before they reached their destination, but still the enemy were not aware of

their approach till they had surmounted the heights above the Roman camp, and were descending to attack it from the vantage-ground. Then Curius led out his troops to oppose them, and the nature of the ground gave the Romans a great advantage over the heavy-armed Greek infantry as soon as the attempt to surprise them had failed. But the action seems to have been decided by an accident; for one of Pyrrhus' elephants was wounded, and, running wild among his own men, threw them into disorder; nor could they offer a long resistance, being almost exhausted with the fatigue of their night march. They were repulsed with great loss, two elephants were killed, and eight being forced into impracticable ground from which there was no outlet, were surrendered to the Romans by their drivers. Thus encouraged, Curius no longer declined a decisive action on unequal ground; he descended into the plain and met Pyrrhus in the open field.

13. The way to Africa was now open, and the consuls, after having filled their ships with more than their usual supplies, as they knew not what port would next receive them, prepared to leave the coast of Sicily and to cross the open sea to an unknown world. The soldiers and even one of the military tribunes murmured. They had been kept from home during one whole winter, and now they were to be carried to a strange country into the very stronghold of their enemy's power, to a land of scorching heat and infested with noisome beasts and monstrous serpents, such as all stories of Africa had told them of. Regulus, it is said, threatened the tribune with death, and forced the men on board. The fleet did not keep together, and thirty ships reached the African shore unsupported, and might have been destroyed before the arrival of the rest, had not the Carthaginians in their confusion neglected their opportunity. When the whole fleet was re-assembled, under the headland of Hermes, they stood to the southward along the

coast, and disembarked the legions near the place called Aspis or Clypea, a fortress built by Agathocles about fifty years before, and deriving its name from its walls forming a circle upon the top of a conical hill. They immediately drew their ships up on the beach after the ancient manner, and secured them with a ditch and rampart, and having fortified Clypea, and despatched messengers to Rome with the news of their success, and to ask for further instructions, they began to march into the country.

14. When the signal was given, the Carthaginian cavalry and elephants immediately advanced, and the Romans, clashing their pila against the iron rims of their shields, and cheering loudly, rushed on to meet them. The left wing, passing by the right of the line of elephants, attacked the Carthaginian mercenaries and routed them; Xanthippus rode up to rally them, threw himself from his horse, and fought amongst them as a common soldier. Meantime his cavalry had swept the Roman and Italian horse from the field, and then charged the legions on the rear, while the elephants, driving the velites before them into the intervals of the maniples, broke into the Roman main battle, and with irresistible weight, and strength, and fury trampled under foot, and beat down, and dispersed the bravest. If any forced their way forwards through the elephants' line, they were received by the Carthaginian infantry, who, being fresh and in unbroken order, presently cut them to pieces. Two thousand men of the left of the Roman army escaped after they had driven the mercenaries to their camp, and found that all was lost behind them. Regulus himself, with five hundred more, fled also from the rout, but was pursued, overtaken, and made prisoner. The rest of the Roman army was destroyed to a man on the field of battle. The few fugitives of the left wing made their escape to Clypea. Tunes, it seems, was lost immediately, and, except Clypea, the Romans did not retain a foot of ground in Africa.

15. The Romans might have attacked him while he was among the Gauls, who dwell west of the Alps, and so he would never have got into Italy at all. But he was too quick for them, and got on so much faster than the Romans thought he would, that they always came too late. Thus the Roman army came to the Rhone just three days after Hannibal had crossed it, so they had to go away and wait for him in Cisalpine Gaul. Hannibal crossed the Rhone very quickly; in two days he got together all the boats he wanted to take his soldiers across. The Gauls were on the opposite shore to prevent him from landing. So he sent some soldiers by night to go farther up the river, and cross where the Gauls did not see them. Then he moored all his large boats so as to break the force of the stream, and put his men in smaller boats, with the horses swimming by the side. So Hannibal waited till he saw some smoke rising behind the Gauls, for this was the sign that his soldiers who had been sent before had got across. Then he told all his men to row hard at their boats; as they got to the shore the Gauls rushed on them, but they heard a shout behind and saw their tents on fire, and the soldiers of Hannibal coming against them where they did not expect it. They were afraid and ran away, so the soldiers landed easily. It was a much harder thing for Hannibal to march up the Alps, for the people of the mountains rolled down great stones upon his troops, and attacked them from behind when they were not expecting it. But even this was not so bad as the cold, and the dangers of snow and ice. These were most felt on the way down into Cisalpine Gaul; the paths, being only made of ice, broke away, and men slipped down the steep sides of the mountain and were killed. So he lost more than half the force with which he crossed the Rhone, before he met the Romans in Italy.

16. Suddenly in the spring before the enemy's armies began to move, Scipio set out with his whole army and fleet

for New Carthage, which he could reach by the coast route from the mouth of the Ebro in a few days, and surprised the Carthaginian garrison by a combined attack on sea and land. The town, situated on a tongue of land projecting into the harbor, found itself threatened at once on three sides by the Roman fleet, and on the fourth by the legions; and all help was far distant. Nevertheless the commandant Mago defended himself with resolution, and armed the citizens, as the soldiers did not suffice to man the walls. A sortie was attempted; but the Romans repelled it with ease and, instead of taking time to open a regular siege, began the assault on the landward side. Eagerly the assailants pushed their advance along the narrow land approach to the town; new columns constantly relieved those that were fatigued; the weak garrison was utterly exhausted, but the Romans had gained no advantage. Scipio had not expected any; the assault was designed merely to draw away the garrison from the side next to the harbor, where, having been informed that part of the latter was left dry at ebb-tide, he meditated a second attack. While the assault was raging on the landward side, Scipio sent a division with ladders over the shallows "where Neptune himself showed them the way," and they had actually the good fortune to find the walls at that point undefended. Thus the city was won on the first day, whereupon Mago in the citadel capitulated.

17. On this, Fulvius Flaccus left the Senate, informed Gracchus of the speech of Nasica, and told him that his death was resolved upon. Then the friends of Gracchus girded up their gowns, and armed themselves with staves, for the purpose of repelling force by force. In the midst of the uproar, Gracchus raised his hand to his head. His enemies cried that he was asking for a crown. Exaggerated reports were carried into the senate-house, and Nasica exclaimed, "The consul is betraying the republic: those

who would save their country, follow me!" So saying, he drew the skirt of his gown over his head, after the manner used by the Pontifex Maximus in solemn acts of worship. A number of senators followed, and the people respectfully made way. But the nobles and their partisans broke up the benches that had been set out for the assembly, and began an assault upon the adherents of Gracchus, who fled in disorder. Gracchus abandoned all thoughts of resistance; he left his gown in the hands of a friend who sought to detain him, and made towards the Temple of Jupiter. But the priests had closed the doors, and in his haste he stumbled over a bench, and fell. As he was rising, one of his own colleagues struck him on the head with a stool; another claimed the honor of repeating the blow; and before the statues of the old kings at the portico of the Temple the tribune lay dead. Many of his adherents were slain with him; many were forced over the wall at the edge of the Tarpeian Rock, and were killed by their fall. Not fewer than three hundred lost their lives in the fray.

18. After Sulla had left Rome the two consuls began to quarrel, one being on the side of Sulla, the other on the side of Marius. At last L. Cornelius Cinna, who was Marius' consul, gathered an army, and brought Marius back. Marius had had many troubles in trying to escape from Italy. The sailors of a ship on which he wished to go to Africa persuaded him to land near Minturnæ, and then sailed away and left him. He was pursued, and taken prisoner, though he had tried to hide himself by standing up to the chin in a marsh. He was put in prison at Minturnæ, and the magistrates sent a Gaulish slave to put him to death in prison; but when the slave came to Marius the old man's eyes flashed so terribly through the dark prison, as he said, "Fellow, darest thou kill Gaius Marius?" that the man dropped his sword and ran away. Then the magistrates were ashamed and let Marius go. He crossed over

to Africa, but had no sooner landed than he was warned by the magistrates to go away. Those who were sent to tell him to go found him sitting among the ruins of Carthage, and when they had given their message he said, "Say you have seen Gaius Marius among the ruins of Carthage." Now that his troubles were over Marius came back to Rome very savage after all that he had suffered. He and Cinna put to death all the chief people who were opposed to them. For five days the gates of Rome were shut, and Marius went through the streets with a body of soldiers, who put to death any one he pointed out.

19. Cæsar was afraid that when he came back to Rome as a private man he would be brought to trial on some charge or another before the people, and then would be condemned by the votes of Pompeius' soldiers. There was no certainty what might happen, and Cæsar was determined to carry out his own plans, and to alter the government of Rome. The Senate was more afraid of him than of Pompeius who made himself the head of the party of the nobles and those who held by the existing form of government. Cæsar, on the other hand, was the leader of the people, and of those who wished for a reform in the government. It was soon very clear to every one that the questions in dispute would never be settled peaceably, but that there would be a great civil war. The question about which the war broke out was this: Cæsar demanded that either both he and Pompeius should give up their provinces at the same time, or he should be allowed to stand for the consulship while absent in Gaul, so that he might come to Rome as consul, and be as strong as Pompeius in the state. Cæsar was at the head of an army, and had many friends in Rome, but the Senate did not know how strong he was, so they refused his proposals, and when two of the tribunes took Cæsar's side they were threatened with loss of their office. They fled to Cæsar, who now had a cause for war,

and who advanced into Roman ground, passing the little river Rubicon, which separates Gaul from Italy; he said he came to defend the tribunes of the people against the Senate.

20. It was now Antonius' turn to be afraid of the power of Octavianus, who was master of Italy, which he had saved from great distress, and where he had quietly and moderately introduced law and order. All Cæsar's old soldiers followed him, and he was the head of all the old political party of Marius. Antonius, on the other hand, became more and more disliked at Rome. He lived entirely in the East, where he was altogether under the influence of Cleopatra, and followed Eastern habits and customs, which the Romans heard of with disgust. So, gradually, a war came about between Octavianus and Antonius, which was settled by the battle of Actium in the year 31. This battle was fought at sea, off the west coast of Greece, and was decided by the flight of Cleopatra's ship in the middle of the battle. Antonius was so distressed at this that he followed her; and then all his ships, seeing their general run away, turned and fled likewise. Antonius was pursued to Egypt, where he attempted to commit suicide on hearing Cleopatra was dead; but she was not, and he lived just long enough to see her, but died in time to escape falling into the hands of Octavianus. Cleopatra was taken prisoner, but committed suicide by the sting of an asp, which she contrived to have sent to her in a basket of fruit. She was the last queen of Egypt; after her death it was made a Roman province. So now again the Roman world was under the rule of one man.

21. When the appointed time arrived, the conspirators appeared armed like the rest of the citizens, but carrying concealed daggers besides. Harmodius and Aristogeiton had planned to kill Hippias first, as he was arranging the order of the procession in the Ceramicus; but upon ap-

proaching the spot where he was standing they were thunderstruck at beholding one of the conspirators in close conversation with the despot. Believing that they were betrayed, and resolving before they died to wreak their vengeance upon Hipparchus, they rushed back into the city with their daggers hid in the myrtle boughs which they were to have carried in the procession. They found him near the chapel called Leocorion, and killed him on the spot. Harmodius was immediately cut down by the guards. Aristogeiton escaped for the time, but was afterwards taken, and died under the tortures to which he was subjected in order to compel him to disclose his accomplices. The news of his brother's death reached Hippias before it became generally known. With extraordinary presence of mind he called upon the citizens to drop their arms, and meet him in an adjoining ground. They obeyed without suspicion. He then apprehended those on whose persons daggers were discovered, and all besides whom he had any reason to suspect.

22. Cyrus anticipated his enemy's plans; he waited till the Lydian king had re-entered his capital and dismissed his troops; and he then marched upon Sardis with such celerity that he appeared under the walls of the city before any one could notice his approach. Crœsus was thus compelled to fight without the help of his allies; but he did not despair of success; for the Lydian cavalry was distinguished for its efficiency, and the open plain before Sardis was favorable for its evolutions. To render this force useless, Cyrus placed in front of his lines the baggage camels, which the Lydian horses could not endure either to see or to smell. The Lydians, however, did not on this account decline the contest; they dismounted from their horses, and fought bravely on foot; and it was not until after a fierce contest that they were obliged to take refuge within the city. Here they considered themselves secure,

till their allies should come to their aid; for the fortifications of Sardis were deemed impregnable to assault. There was, however, one side of the city which had been left unfortified, because it stood upon a rock so high and steep as to seem quite inaccessible. But on the fourteenth day of the siege a Persian soldier, having seen one of the garrison descend this rock to pick up his helmet which had rolled down, climbed up the same way, followed by several of his comrades. Sardis was thus taken. Crœsus with all his treasures fell into the hands of Cyrus.

23. Hannibal was the only man who perceived that he was aimed at by the Romans; and that peace was only allowed the Carthaginians on the understanding that a remorseless war should be maintained against himself alone. He therefore resolved to submit to the crisis and to his fate; and having prepared everything for flight, he first publicly appeared in the forum on that day in order to avert suspicion; but, as soon as darkness fell, departed in his out-of-doors dress, with two attendants ignorant of his design. Horses being in readiness at the spot where they had been ordered, he passed through Byzacium by night, and arrived on the following day at a castle of his own on the seacoast. There a vessel, prepared and manned with rowers, received him. Thus did Hannibal leave Africa, pitying the fate of his country more than his own. Landing at the isle of Cercina, and finding there several Phœnician merchant-ships in the harbor, and a concourse of people having flocked together to welcome him as he disembarked from the vessel, he ordered that all who inquired should be informed that he had been sent as ambassador to Tyre. Then, fearing that through these merchants his flight might be discovered at Carthage, he invited the merchants and captains of the vessels to a great banquet, and ordered that the sails and yards should be brought from the ships that they might enjoy the shade while supping on the shore.

The feast was protracted with a profusion of wine to a late hour of the night, and Hannibal, as soon as he found an opportunity of escaping the notice of those who were in the harbor, unmoored his vessel, and sailed away.

24. The next day, Hannibal, crossing the Anio, drew out all his forces in order of battle, nor did Flaccus decline the contest. The troops on both sides having been drawn up to try the chances of a battle, in which the city of Rome was to be the conqueror's prize, a violent shower mingled with hail so disordered both the lines that the troops, scarcely able to hold their arms, retired into their camps, with less fear of the enemy than anything else. On the following day, also, a similar storm separated the armies marshalled on the same ground. After they had retired to their camps, an extraordinary calm and tranquillity arose; whereupon Hannibal is said to have cried out, that at one moment the inclination, at another, the opportunity, of becoming master of Rome was not allowed him. Other contingencies, also, the one important, the other insignificant, diminished his hopes. The one was, that, while he was encamped near the walls of the city he heard that troops had marched out with colors flying, as a reinforcement for Spain; the other, that it was discovered, from one of his prisoners, that at this very time the very ground on which he was encamped had been sold, with no diminution of the price on that account. In fact, it appeared so great an insult and indignity that a purchaser should have been found at Rome for the very soil which he possessed as the prize of war, that, calling instantly for a crier, he ordered that the silversmiths' shops, which then were ranged around the forum, should be put up for sale.

25. They had crossed the plain to the foot of the hills in the dark, during the last watch of the night, and found the passes unguarded. But the people fled from the villages at their approach, and, though the Greeks at first spared their

property, could not be induced to listen to any offers of peace; but having recovered from their first surprise, and collected a part of their forces, they fell upon the rear of the Greeks, and with their missiles made some slaughter among the last troops, which issued in the dusk of evening from the long and narrow defile. In the night the watch-fires of the Carduchians were seen blazing on the peaks of the surrounding hills; signals which warned the Greeks that they might expect to be attacked by the collected forces of their tribes. On the fifth day as the army was ascending a lofty ridge distinguished by the name of the Sacred Mountain, Xenophon and the rear-guard observed a stoppage and an unusual clamor in the foremost ranks, which had reached the summit, and they supposed at first that they saw an enemy before them. But when Xenophon rode up to ascertain the cause, the first shouts that struck his ear were, "The sea, the sea!" The glad sound ran quickly till it reached the hindermost, and all pressed forward to enjoy the cheering sight. The Euxine spread its waters before their eyes; waters which rolled on the shores of Greece, and which washed the walls of many Greek cities on the nearest coast of Asia.

26. So Eurylochus went, and comrades twenty and two with him. And in an open space in the wood they found the palace of Circe. All about were wolves and lions; yet these harmed not the men, but stood up on their hind legs, fawning upon them, as dogs fawn upon their master when he comes from his meal. And the men were afraid. And they stood in the porch and heard the voice of Circe as she sang with a lovely voice and plied the loom. Then said Polites, "Some one within plies a great loom and sings with a loud voice. Some goddess is she or woman. Let us make haste and call." So they called to her, and she came out and beckoned to them that they should follow. So they went in their folly. And she bade them sit and mixed for

them a mess, red wine, and in it barley meal and cheese and honey, and mighty drugs withal, of which, if a man drank, he forgot all that he loved. And when they had drunk, she smote them with her wand. And lo! they had of a sudden the heads and the voices and the bristles of swine, but the heart of a man was in them still. And Circe shut them in sties, and gave them mast and acorns and cornel to eat. But Eurylochus fled back to the ship. And for a while he could not speak, so full was his heart of grief; but at the last he told the tale of what had befallen.

27. And when Ulysses prayed him that he would help him on his way homewards, Æolus hearkened to him, and gave him the skin of an ox, in which he had bound all contrary winds so that they should not hinder him. But he let a gentle west wind blow, that it might carry him and his comrades to their home. For nine days it blew, and now they were near to Ithaca, their country, so that they saw lights burning in it, it being night time. But now, by an ill chance, Ulysses fell asleep, being wholly wearied out, for he had held the helm for nine days, nor trusted it to any of his comrades. And while he slept, his comrades, who had cast eyes of envy on the great ox-hide, said one to another: "Strange it is how men love and honor this Ulysses whithersoever he goes. And now he comes back from Troy with much spoil, but we with empty hands. Let us see what it is that Æolus hath given, for doubtless in this ox-hide is much silver and gold." So they loosed the great bag of ox-hide, and lo! all the winds rushed out and carried them far away from their country. But Ulysses, waking with the tumult, doubted much whether he should not throw himself into the sea and so die. But he endured, thinking it better to live. Only he veiled his face and so sat, while the ships drave before the winds. till they came once more to the island of Æolus.

28. Then Ulysses bade his comrades be of good courage;

for the time was come when they should be delivered. And they thrust the stake of olive wood into the fire till it was ready, green as it was, to burst into flame, and they thrust it into the monster's eye; for he had but one eye, and that in the midst of his forehead, with the eyebrow below it. And Ulysses leaned with all his force upon the stake and thrust it in with might and main. And the burning wood hissed in the eye, just as the red-hot iron hisses in the water when a man seeks to temper steel for a sword. Then the giant leaped up and tore away the stake, and cried aloud so that all the Cyclopes who dwelt on the mountain side heard him and came about his cave, asking him, "What aileth thee, Polyphemus, that thou makest this uproar in the peaceful night, driving away sleep? Is any one robbing thee of thy sheep, or seeking to slay thee by craft or force?" And the giant answered, "No Man slays me by craft." "Nay but," they said, "if no man does thee wrong, we cannot help thee. The sickness which great Zeus may send, who can avoid? Pray to our father, Poseidon, for help." Then they departed; and Ulysses was glad at heart for the success of his device, when he said that he was No Man.

29. When Herodotus says of Miltiades that, at Marathon, he suspected that, if they did not immediately fight a decisive battle, the Athenians might change their minds and go over to the Persians, the state of the case must be that Miltiades only put forth this suspicion in order to win over to his side the polemarch Callimachus, who was undecided which of the two parties among the generals to join. For, when the Athenians had been led out to battle, they showed themselves most brave, and were the first of the Greeks, as Herodotus himself says, who held out against the Persians, whose name till then had been an object of terror to all. They gave also a marked example of their valor at the battle of Platæa. When the Greeks had drawn themselves

up in battle array at the foot of Mount Cithæron, and would not come down into the plain, Mardonius sent all his cavalry against them under the leadership of Mastitius. The Megareans happened to occupy the point which was most exposed to the attack of the cavalry. When they had resisted a little while, they declared that they could not longer withstand the onslaught of the enemy, and would leave the field if the others did not relieve them. As soon as Pausanias learned this, he put the Greeks to the test to see whether they would voluntarily undertake the task. Then, while all the others refused, the Athenians undertook to go to the aid of the Megareans, and three hundred were chosen from their number who succeeded in putting to flight the hostile cavalry, and reviving the courage of all anew.

30. They resolved, however, to manage the matter with poison, which Marcia undertook that she would easily give him. For she was accustomed to mix and hand to him his first cup, that the draught might be sweeter as coming from his lover's hand. As soon, therefore, as he came out of the bath, she handed him the poison mixed with the most perfumed wine in a cup. He, having become thirsty from long bathing and hunting, drank it up without consideration, supposing it to have been tasted beforehand, according to custom; on which account, being directly seized with a pain in the head, and a great drowsiness having come upon him, he immediately sought repose, thinking this was due to his exertions. Electus, however, and Marcia ordered all persons directly to retire, and every one to go to his own home, that they might not awaken Commodus, as he stood in need of sleep. On other occasions, also, this had often happened in consequence of his excessive drunkenness, for as he spent his time in the bath or at the table, he had no fixed time of rest. For pleasures, following in quick succession, and very different from one another, compel men to serve them at any time, even against their will. After, then, he

had rested a little while, and by this time the force of the poison had begun to affect his stomach, he vomited a great deal; and the conspirators began to fear that, when he had ejected the poison, he would recover, and order them all to be slain together. Accordingly, they induced, by a great bribe, a bold and powerful young man, named Narcissus, to strangle him in his chamber.

31. Wise men have often remarked that opinions should be estimated not by number, but by weight; and that the judgment of one single man of worth and intelligence ought to be more highly prized than that of the inexperienced many whom to satisfy and please appeared to the ancient musicians a proof of deficiency in artistic skill. Accordingly, we are told that Pericles, when he saw occasionally that the crowd around him applauded his speech, used to fear he had made a mistake, and that he must have said more or less than he ought to have said. And it is mentioned with commendation of Antinous that, when all except Plato left him during the recitation of his long poem, he observed, "I will go on reading all the same, for one Plato is to me worth many thousands." So, too, Cicero, when he could persuade Cato only, did not regard the opinions of others. "Our Cato," says he, "who by himself is worth a hundred thousand in my eyes." And in another place he says of Peducæus, "Only read it to Sextus, and send me word what he thinks of it — εἷς ἐμοὶ μύριοι." As it is certain that those Greek words are taken from some ancient writer, — and yet no one, so far as I know, has shown from whom, — I consider it not out of place to state my opinion on the subject. I conjecture, then, that they are taken from Democritus, from whom Seneca quotes the following remark: "One is in my eyes as the people, and the people as one."

32. I went down to the Piræus yesterday with Glaucon, the son of Ariston, that I might offer up a prayer to the

goddess, and also because I wanted to see in what manner they would celebrate the festival of Bendis, which was a new thing. I was delighted with the procession of the inhabitants; this, however, was equalled or even exceeded in beauty by that of the Thracians. When we had finished our prayers, and the spectacle was over, we turned in the direction of the city, and at that instant Polemarchus, the son of Cephalus, who caught sight of us at a distance as we were departing homewards, told his servant to run and bid us wait for him. The servant took hold of me by the cloak behind, and said, "Polemarchus desires you to wait." I turned round, and asked him where his master was. "He is coming," said the youth, "if you will only wait." "Certainly we will," said Glaucon; and in a few minutes Polemarchus appeared, and with him Adeimantus, Glaucon's brother, and several others who had been at the procession. Polemarchus said to me, "I perceive, Socrates, that you and your companions are already on your way to the city." "You are not far wrong," I said. "But do you see," he rejoined, "how many we are?" "I do." "And are you stronger than all these? For, if not, you will have to remain where you are." "May there not be yet another possibility," I said, "that we may persuade you to let us go?" "But can you persuade us if we refuse to listen to you?" he said. "Of course not," replied Glaucon. "Then we are not going to listen, of that you may be assured."

33. Accordingly we went with Polemarchus to his house, and there we found his brothers and with them Thrasymachus and others. There, too, was their father, Cephalus, whom I had not seen for a long time, and I thought him very much aged. He was seated on a cushioned chair, having a garland on his head, for he had been holding a sacrifice in the court; and there were other chairs arranged in a circle upon which we sat down by him. He welcomed me eagerly and then he said: "You don't come to see me,

Socrates, as often as you ought; for if I were able to go to you I would not ask you to come to me. But at my age I can hardly get to the city, and therefore you ought to come oftener to the Piræus. For, indeed, I find that at my time of life, as the pleasures and delights of the body fade away, the love of discourse grows upon me. I only wish that you would come oftener, and be with your young friends here, and make yourself altogether at home with us." I replied: "There is nothing which I like better, Cephalus, than conversing with aged men like yourself; for I regard them as travellers who have gone a journey which I too may have to go, and of whom I ought to inquire, whether the way is smooth and easy, or rugged and difficult. And this is a question which I should like to ask of you who have arrived at that time which the poets call the 'threshold of old age' — Is life harder towards the end, or what report do you give of it?"

34. If the poet everywhere appears, and never conceals himself, then again the imitation is dropped, and his poetry becomes simple narration. However, in order that I may make my meaning quite clear, I will return to my example. Suppose that Homer had said, "The priest came, having his daughter's ransom in his hands, the suppliant of the Achæans, and above all of the kings"; and then, instead of speaking in the person of Chryses, suppose that he had continued in his own person, the imitation would have passed into narration. He would have said, "Chryses came and prayed the gods on behalf of the Greeks, that they might take Troy and return in peace if Agamemnon would only give him back his daughter, taking the ransom and reverencing the gods. Thus he spoke, and the other Greeks respected him and consented. But Agamemnon was wroth, and bade him depart and not come again, lest the sceptre and crown of the god should be of no avail to him. The daughter of Chryses, he said, should not be released until

she had first grown old with him in Argos. And then he told him to go away, and not to provoke him, if he intended to get home safely. And the old man went away in fear and silence, and, having left the camp, he called upon Apollo by his many names, reminding him of everything which he had done pleasing to him, whether in building his temples or in offering sacrifice, and praying that his good deeds might be returned to him, and that the Achæans might expiate his tears by the arrows of the god." And so on. In this way the whole becomes narrative.

35. "Therefore, as I was just now saying, we must inquire who are the best guardians of their own conviction that the interest of the state is to be the rule of all their actions. We must watch them from their youth upwards, and make them perform actions in which they are most likely to forget or to be deceived, and he who remembers and is not deceived is to be selected, and he who fails in the trial is to be rejected. That will be the way?" "Yes." "And there should also be toils and pains and conflicts prescribed for them in which they will give further proof of the same qualities." "Very right," he replied. "And then," I said, "we must try them with enchantments, that is the third sort of test, and see what will be their behavior. Like those who take colts amid noises and cries to see if they are of a timid nature, so we must take our youth amid terrors of some kind, and again pass them into pleasures, and try them more thoroughly than gold is tried in the fire. And he who, at every age as boy and youth and in mature life has come out of the trial victorious and pure, shall be appointed a ruler and guardian of the state. He shall be honored in life and death, and shall receive sepulture and other memorials of honor, the greatest that we have to give. Him we must choose, and reject the opposite of him. I am inclined to think that this is the sort of way in which our rulers and guardians should be appointed."

36. Last night, or rather very early this morning, Hippocrates, the son of Appollodorus, and the brother of Phason, gave a tremendous thump with his staff at my door. Some one opened to him, and he came rushing in, and bawled out, "Socrates, are you awake or asleep?" I knew his voice, and said, "Hippocrates, is that you? and do you bring any news?" "Good news," he said; "nothing but good." "Very good, but what news, and why have you come hither at this unearthly hour?" He drew nearer to me and said, "Protagoras is come." "Yes," I replied; "he came two days ago; have you only just heard of his arrival?" "Yes, by the gods," he said; "I heard yesterday evening." At the same time he felt for the truckle-bed, and sat down at my feet, and then he said: "Yesterday, quite late in the evening, on my return from Œnoe, whither I had gone in pursuit of my runaway slave Satyrus, of whose escape I meant to have told you, if some other matter had not come in the way — on my return, when we had done supper and were about to retire to rest, my brother said to me: 'Protagoras is come.' I was going to you at once, and then I thought that the night was far spent. But the moment sleep left me after my toil, I got up and came hither direct." I, who knew the very courageous madness of the man, said: "What is the matter? Has Protagoras robbed you of anything?" He replied, laughing: "Yes, indeed he has, Socrates; of the wisdom which he keeps to himself." "But surely," I said, "if you give him money, and make friends with him, he will make you as wise as he is himself." "Would to heaven," he replied, "that he would! He might take all that I have, and all that my friends have, if he would."

37. *Socrates.* — But let me ask you, friend, have we not reached the plane-tree to which you were conducting us? *Phædrus.* — Yes, here is the tree. *Socrates.* — Yes, indeed, and a fair and shady resting-place, full of summer sounds

and scents. There is the lofty and spreading plane-tree, and the agnus-castus, high and clustering in the fullest blossom and the greatest fragrance; and the stream which flows beneath the plane-tree is deliciously cold to the feet. Judging from the ornaments and images, this must be a spot sacred to Achelous and the Nymphs; moreover, there is a sweet breeze, and the grasshoppers chirrup; and the greatest charm of all is the grass, like a pillow, gently sloping to the beach. My dear Phædrus, you have been an admirable guide. *Phædrus.* — I always wonder at you, Socrates; for when you are in the country, you really are like a stranger who is being led about by a guide. Do you ever cross the border? I rather think that you never venture even outside the gates. *Socrates.* — Very true, my good friend; and I hope that you will excuse me when you hear the reason, which is, that I am a lover of knowledge, and the men who dwell in the city are my teachers, and not the trees or the country. Though I do indeed believe that you have found a spell with which to draw me out of the city into the country, as hungry cows are led by waving before them a bough or a fruit. For only hold up in like manner a book before me, and you may lead me all round Attica, and over the wide world. And now having arrived, I intend to lie down, and do you choose any posture in which you can read best. Begin.

38. Phocion, of whom we read in Cornelius Nepos that he refused a great sum of money which had been offered him by Philip, king of Macedonia, in order not to have the appearance of preferring the friendship of a foreign king to the freedom of his country, maintained the same demeanor also toward his son, Alexander. For, when he sent him a hundred talents as a present, Phocion asked those who had brought the money why Alexander sent him alone presents of all the numerous Athenians. When they answered that he alone seemed to Alexander to be an upright

and honorable man, he said, "Then let the king suffer me to be one and to count for such." The ambassadors, however, persisted; but he said: "If I should take this money which you offer me and not use it, this great treasure would have come into my hands in vain, and I should make a bad reputation for myself and Alexander among the Athenians." So the money was taken back to Alexander in Asia. But he was displeased that his present had been scorned by Phocion, and wrote to him that he did not regard as friends people who would accept nothing from him. At the same time he offered him the money anew, and named four cities of Asia of which he might choose one at will to receive the revenue from. Phocion, however, would not accept this offer either; but, in order not to seem to scorn Alexander's generosity, he begged the king to set free four Athenians who were kept in chains in the citadel of Sardis, and Alexander immediately gave orders that they should be released.

39. The sway of Periander, on the other hand, is universally condemned as oppressive and cruel. Many of the tales related of him may be regarded as the calumnies of his enemies; but there is good reason for believing that he ruled with a rod of iron. The way in which he treated the nobles is illustrated by a well-known tale which has been transferred to the early history of Rome. Soon after his accession, Periander is said to have sent to Thrasybulus, despot of Miletus, for advice as to the best mode of maintaining his power. Without giving an answer in writing, Thrasybulus led the messenger through a cornfield, cutting off, as he went, the tallest ears of corn. He then dismissed the messenger, telling him to inform his master how he had found him employed. The action was rightly interpreted by Periander, who proceeded to rid himself of the powerful nobles of the state. The anecdote, whether true or not, is an indication of the common opinion entertained of the gov-

ernment of Periander. We are further told that he protected his person by a body-guard of mercenaries, and kept all rebellion in check by his rigorous measures. It is admitted on all hands that he possessed great ability and military skill; and, however oppressive his government may have been to the citizens of Corinth, he raised the city to a state of great prosperity and power, and made it respected alike by friends and foes.

40. "But that you may feel the greater enthusiasm for protecting the State, be assured of this, — that all who have helped save, aided, or advanced their country, have a particular place appointed in heaven, where they enjoy happiness and life everlasting. For there is nothing which takes place upon the earth more acceptable to the chief god who rules over all the universe than the associations and unions of men allied together by law, which are called States; and the rulers and preservers of these States have their beginning in him and return to him."

Then though greatly alarmed, not so much by the fear of death as by fear of treachery at the hands of my friends, I yet asked whether he and Paulus, my father, and the others whom we think destroyed, lived. "Yea, verily," said he, "they do live; for they have flown from the bonds of the body as from prison, but that so-called life of yours is death. Look, there is your father Paulus coming towards you." When I saw him, I poured out a flood of tears, but he embraced and kissed me and bade me not to weep.

And when I could keep back my tears, and regain the power of speech, I said: "Pray, father, most holy and good, since this is life, as Africanus just tells me, why do I tarry on this earth? Why do I not hasten to come here to you?" "It is not so ordered," said he. "For unless the god, whose temple all this space is which you see, shall free you from that guard duty of the body, there can be no way hither open to you."

41. Now the following speech of Atreus's is exceedingly absurd: "Let him not have a tomb to receive him, a haven for the body, where, when the cord of life has been loosed, the body may have rest from its ills." You see in what error these opinions are involved. Atreus thinks that there is a haven for the body, and that the dead man rests in the tomb. This was chiefly the fault of Pelops, who did not instruct his son nor teach him the proper relations of things.

But why should I notice the opinions of individuals when we may examine the different errors of nations? The Egyptians preserve their dead and keep them in their homes; the Persians even embalm them with wax, that their bodies may last as long a time as possible; the custom of the Magians is not to bury the bodies of their people until they have been first torn by wild beasts. In Hyrcania the common people keep dogs at the general expense, the higher classes do so at their own. We know that that breed of dogs is famous, but the object of the custom is that each man, according to his means, shall provide beasts to mangle his corpse, and this, those people think is the best burial. Many other instances are gathered by Chrysippus, an enthusiastic investigator of all historical subjects, but some of them are so disgusting that one shudders to put them into words. The whole matter ought to be despised in our own case, but not disregarded in the case of our friends; but, how much concession must be made to fashion and to what men will think, the living must arrange, understanding that it is of no concern to the dead.

42. They say that Pythagoras once visited Phlius, and held some learned and exhaustive discussions with Leon, the chief man among the Phliasians, and that Leon, having expressed his admiration of his ability and eloquence, asked him on what art he chiefly relied. But he said that he knew no art, but was a philosopher. Leon, so the story

goes, wondered at the name, which was new to him, and asked what philosophers were, and what difference there was between them and other people; and Pythagoras answered that he considered the life of man like the fair which was held at the great festival of the games, and was attended by crowds from all parts of Greece. For as there some aimed at glory and the distinction of the victor's wreath by athletic excellence, and others were attracted by the opportunity for buying and selling and money-getting, while there was a class — and that perhaps the highest-toned — who sought neither applause nor gain, but went to look on, and diligently watched what was being done and how; so we too, like men coming from some city to the crowd at the fair, had come into this life from another life and condition, and some were the slaves of glory, others of money, while there were some few, who, counting all else as naught, diligently contemplated the universe. These he called seekers after wisdom, that is, of course, philosophers; and he maintained that as at the fair, the most dignified thing was to look on, getting nothing for one's self, so in life the contemplation and investigation of things far surpassed all other pursuits.

43. None but those who, like myself, have once lived in intellectual society, and have then been deprived of it for years, can appreciate the delight of finding it again. Not that I have any right to complain, if I were fated to live as a recluse forever. I can add little, or nothing, to the pleasure of any company; I like to listen rather than to talk; and when anything apposite does occur to me, it is generally the day after the conversation has taken place. I do not, however, love good talk the less for these defects of mine; and I console myself with thinking that I sustain the part of a judicious listener, not always an easy one. Great then was my delight at hearing last year, that my old pupil, Milverton, had taken a house which had long been

vacant in our neighborhood. To add to my pleasure, his college-friend, Ellesmere, the great lawyer, also an old pupil of mine, came to us frequently in the course of the autumn. Milverton was at that time writing some essays which he occasionally read to Ellesmere and myself. The conversations which then took place I am proud to say that I have chronicled. I think they must be interesting to the world in general, though of course not so much as to me.

44. There is a common belief, which perhaps is just, that there is not so much friendship in the world as there used to be. Various causes have been assigned for this, — that men are less heroic, more querulous, more selfish, more domestic. In my opinon the real cause is want of time. And it must be remarked that to keep up friendship, it is not sufficient to have spare time now and then; but you require an amount of certain and continuous leisure. Observe under what conditions of life friendship has had the greatest sway, and has been most prominently developed. There are still great friendships among boys at school and young men at college. There have been great friendships in comparatively barbaric times, for barbarism almost ensures a certain continuity of leisure. What we call civilization has, up to the present time, made increasing demands upon each man's time. Should this civilization ever be a prosperous and successful thing, it will give an assured continuity of leisure, and then you will see that friendship will revive amongst men. As an illustration of what I mean, I have no doubt that benevolent persons must in general have a large capacity for friendship; but the evils of the world are so great that their attention is absorbed in the endeavor to mitigate those evils. Then, again, the monstrous size of great cities in our age tends to diminish the possibility of maintaining close friendship. All I would contend is, that men and women have the same capacity for friendship, the same delight in it, the same craving for it as heretofore;

but that an imperfect civilization has rendered the manifestation, and even the reality, of friendship more difficult, principally as regards the want of certain and continuous leisure.

45. At first it surprises one that love should be made the principal staple of all the best kinds of fiction; and perhaps it is to be regretted that it is only one kind of love that is chiefly depicted in works of fiction. But that love itself is the most remarkable thing in human life, there cannot be the slightest doubt. For, see what it will conquer. It is not only that it prevails over selfishness; but it has the victory over weariness, tiresomeness, and familiarity. When you are with the person loved, you have no sense of being bored. This humble and trivial circumstance is the great test, the only sure and abiding test, of love. With the persons you do not love, you are never supremely at your ease. In conversation with them, however much you admire them and are interested in them, the horrid idea will cross your mind of "What shall I say next?" Converse with them is not perfect association. But with those you love the satisfaction in their presence is not unlike that of the relation of the heavenly bodies to one another, which, in their silent revolutions, lose none of their attractive power. The sun does not talk to the world; but it attracts it.

46. To listen well is a most rare accomplishment. Indeed, it is a thing beyond an accomplishment. It takes a great man to make a good listener. This is a bold saying, but I believe it is true. The ordinary hindrances to good listening are very considerable, such as the desire to talk one's self, the proneness to interrupt, the inaccuracy, if one may use such an expression, of most men in listening. But there is something which prevents good listening in a much more subtle way, and to a much more dangerous extent, than any of the above-named hindrances. It is this: As soon as you begin to give utterance to some sentiment or

opinion, narrate some story, declare some fact, you will find that your hearer, in nine cases out of ten, strikes at once a mental attitude in reference to what you say. He receives it as a friend, or as a foe, or as a critic, or as an advocate, or as a judge. Now all these characters may afterwards be fairly taken up; but the first thing is to listen, if I may say so, out of character — to be a *bonâ fide* listener, and nothing more. This requires some of the simplicity of greatness. It indicates the existence, too, of that respect which really great men have for other men, and for truth. In short, I maintain that it takes a great man to make a good listener.

47. In a recent novel by a late prime minister there is the following account given of critics. "'To-morrow,' he said, 'the critics will commence. You know who the critics are? The men who have failed in literature and art.'" This is very droll, and very witty, but it is only a small portion of the truth. The critics may be classified under three heads. 1. There are those who are too timid or too fastidious to do anything themselves, — men, perhaps, of considerable ability, — and they naturally find an exercise for their abilities in criticising the works of others. 2. There are the born critics, men whose highest powers naturally take the form of criticism. 3. There are the professional critics who take up criticism as they would any other occupation which procures them a tolerably easy livelihood. The doers are very averse from criticising; and, as they are the only persons who could criticise consummately, criticism is in general the worst-done thing in the world. Occasionally a great doer takes up the part of a narrator or a critic; and then this work is admirably done. For instance, a great commander or a skilful soldier narrates, or criticises, his own campaigns or the campaigns of others; and then you have a remarkable work. But, for the most part, criticism lacks that which should give it the greatest charm, the most assured insight, and the profoundest usefulness, namely, the knowledge which can only be elicited by action.

48. The popular party was no longer headed by Diocles. We do not know the exact time or occasion of his death, but the circumstances attending it are most remarkable. One of the laws of his code had denounced the penalty of death against any man who came into the market-place armed. This was especially directed, no doubt, against the aristocratical party, who were apt to resort to violence in order to break up or intimidate the assemblies of the people, or to revenge themselves on any of the more obnoxious popular leaders. It happened that Diocles had marched out of the city on an alarm of some hostile inroad,— perhaps that very attempt of Hermocrates to get back to Syracuse by force, which has been already noticed. But he was suddenly recalled by the news that the enemy were in the city, and, armed as he was, he hastened back to meet them, and found them already in possession of the market-place. A private citizen, most probably after the fray was over, when the death of so eminent a citizen as Hermocrates would be deeply felt, even by many of his political adversaries, called out to Diocles, in allusion to his having appeared in arms in the market-place, "Ah, Diocles, thou art making void thine own laws!" "Nay, rather," was his reply, "I will ratify them thus"; and he instantly stabbed himself to the heart. Such a spirit, so sincere, and so self-devoted, might well have been the founder of freedom and of legal order for his country, and saved her, had his life been prolonged, from the selfish ambition of Dionysius.

49. Diogenes asked Plato for a glass of wine, and he presently sent him a gallon. When next Diogenes met him, he said to him, "I asked you how many were two and two, and you have answered twenty." There are some of so noble a disposition, that, like trees of ripe fruit, by degrees they drop away all that they have; they would even outdo the demands of all their friends, and would give as if they were gods that could not be exhausted; they look not

so much either at the merit of others, or their own ability, as at the satisfaction to themselves from their own bounty. I find not a higher genius in this way than glowed in the victorious Alexander. He warred as if he coveted all things, and gave away as if he cared for nothing. You would think he did not conquer for himself, but his friends; and that he took only that he might have wherewith to give; so that one might well conclude the world itself was too little for either his ambition or his bounty. When Perillus begged that he would be pleased to give him a portion for his daughters, he immediately commanded him fifty talents. The modest beggar told him ten would be enough. To which the prince replied, "Though it might be enough for him to receive, yet it was not enough for himself to bestow."

50. My just grief was increased by my inability to assist or advise you in so great a danger. What was I to do? Write to your adversaries, and bid them desist from their animosity? as if they, who had not spared an innocent man himself, would spare the advocate of innocence. What then? Could I throw off all shame and console such a great philosopher as you? Accordingly, my dear Caselius, after I had received your first letter from which I learnt in how great a war you were involved, I was especially vexed that I had nothing to assist you with except my good will. But it is fortunate that a merciful God has at once consulted for your innocence and my anxiety, and made the way plain for both of us by enabling you to conquer and me to congratulate you. I do, therefore, congratulate you; first, because you have prevailed, not by those means by which you might have conquered had you wished, — I mean your eloquence and abilities, — but by those in which you were strongest, — the confidence of innocence and the goodness of your cause; then, because your trial came off before a most illustrious prince — and what could be more honorable to you

than this? I, for my part, would not take heaps of gold, if such a price were to buy me off from danger, when I might have him for my judge who is able by his wisdom to extract the truth, by his humanity to defend innocence, by his authority to drive away slander.

51. I add this also, and I think it very much to the point, that Burke, whatever he was doing, or wherever he turned himself in his mind and in his thoughts, always seemed to have attained a knowledge of his subject, and to have written most admirably and most beautifully on almost every topic which is connected with belles-lettres. There are, however, some who think that the practice of eloquence ought to be kept distinct from the study of polite literature, and be limited to the exercise of a man's natural genius aided by a little experience. The natural eloquence of Burke, admirable as it is, has been aided by a most careful education and by a long and laborious course of study. No doubt he took pains to have his mind thoroughly imbued with Greek and Latin literature, because he found therein the proper and, if I may so say, the legitimate ornaments of oratory, and because classical learning almost insensibly produces the habit of speaking English in a classical manner. Demosthenes is said to have frequently read Plato, and even to have been one of his hearers; indeed, a very grave authority, M. Cicero, maintains that this appears from the style and sublimity of his speeches. As for Burke, how consummate a scholar he is, is sufficiently plain from those speeches of his in which all learned men will at once recognize a more studied and elaborate style of oratory. While he was still a very young man, his genius, like a statue of Phidias, was no sooner seen than admitted.

52. When Dorcis arrived he found that the allies had transferred the command of the fleet to the Athenians. There were other reasons for this step besides the disgust occasioned by the conduct of Pausanias. Even before the

battle of Salamis the preponderating power of Athens had raised the question whether she was not entitled to the command at sea, and the victory gained there under the auspices of Themistocles had strengthened her claim to that distinction. But the delivery of the Ionian colonies from the Persian yoke was the immediate cause of her attaining it. The Ionians were not only attracted to Athens by affinity of race, but from her naval superiority regarded her as the only power capable of securing them in their newly acquired independence. Disgusted by the insolence of Pausanias, the Ionians now serving in the combined Grecian fleet addressed themselves to Aristides and Cimon, whose manners formed a striking contrast to those of the Spartan leader, and begged them to assume the command. Aristides was the more inclined to listen to this request as it was made precisely at the time when Pausanias was recalled. The Spartan squadron had accompanied him home, so that when Dorcis arrived with a few ships he found himself in no condition to assert his pretensions. This event was not a mere empty question about a point of honor. It was a real revolution terminated by a solemn league, of which Athens was to be the head; and though it is wrong to date the Athenian empire from this period, yet it cannot be doubted that this confederacy formed the first step towards it.

53. Here, however, I fear lest all the admirers of Horace should agree in controverting us, and that, too, somewhat sharply, for excluding that most elegant poet from the number of those whom we call the chiefs of poetry. But if, in a question of that kind, the pleasure derived by those who read poetry for amusement's sake were the first thing to be considered, who would not gladly concede to Flaccus the highest, or, at any rate, all but the highest place, as being certainly the merriest of all poets; one who most admirably tempers the grave with the gay; and that, too, not with rude and uncultivated gaiety, but such as becomes a

gentleman, so that, when once admitted, as Persius says, "he plays around the heart of every one"? To this must be added, that every one of us, I fancy, retains a pleasing recollection of some poem of Horace's, or, at any rate, of a line or two, such as to recall by the mere sound of the words and syllables, the delights of his boyish years; and whatever dreams, whether grave or cheerful, chiefly pleased him then. Moreover, a circumstance the reverse of which perhaps takes place in most departments of poetry, even when we are growing old, we somehow feel all the greater pleasure in renewing our acquaintance with Horace. But although I grant all this, and more than this, I am compelled, nevertheless, to admit that I have never yet discovered any source of poetry which Horace can claim as his own.

54. The originality of Herodotus fairly entitles him to be called, in one sense, the 'Father of History.' He has, of course, some general traits in common with the Ionian writers of his own or an earlier day. Like them he records myths, though seldom quite uncritically; he describes foreign countries geographically and socially; and he writes in that Ionic dialect which was then the recognized organ of literary prose. He made direct use, too, of some earlier writers, such as Hecatæus and Hellanicus. But no one before him had worked large masses of facts into a symmetrical whole, with unity of plan and thought. He was the first artist in prose. As a historian, he fails chiefly by inattention or insensibility to political cause and effect. He will account for a great event merely by some accident which was the immediate occasion of it, without seeking to find any deeper source. And he tells us little or nothing about constitutional charge. His charm of style is all the greater for his almost child-like simplicity, and he is one of the most delightful story-tellers. His narrative flows on in what the Greeks called the *running* style, seldom

attempting compact *periods*. Often he stops to tell some quaint little story by the way — like that of Hippocleides, a noble suitor for the daughter of the great prince Cleisthenes, who pained his intended father-in-law by dancing before the company, and finally stood upon his head. Cleisthenes, who had hitherto restrained himself, exclaimed: 'Son of Tisandrus, you have danced off the marriage'; but Hippocleides replied, *Hippocleides does not care.* Hence, says Herodotus, our proverb.

55. Euripides has been the most generally popular of the three tragedians; his homeliness and his unrestrained pathos bring him nearer to every-day life. But in his hands tragedy loses that ideal beauty which Sophocles had raised to perfection. Euripides cared less to make his play a harmonious whole. He relied more on particular scenes or situations. As his drama was less artistically planned, he was obliged to help it out by mechanical devices. One of these was a 'prologue' in the special sense — a long set speech at the opening of the piece, in which the actor gives a sketch of the facts which it is needful for the spectators to know. Another was the 'god from a machine' — a deity brought in suddenly to cut some knot in the action. 'Sad Electra's poet,' as Milton called him, excelled in pathetic power, and especially in expressing the sorrow or tenderness of women; though he never drew a woman so noble or so nobly tender as the Antigone of Sophocles. Kings and heroes in rags or on crutches, heroes and heroines bathed in tears, lamentations long drawn out, abound in his plays; and his skill in working on the feelings led Aristotle to call him, not, indeed, the greatest dramatist, but 'the most tragic' of the poets. The songs of the chorus in Euripides have less to do with the action than in Æschylus or Sophocles; and he made much use of lyric *monodies*, plaintive or sentimental airs for one voice.

56. Unfortunately Pliny's best oratory has perished, but

we can hardly doubt that its brilliant wit and courtly finish would have impressed us less than they did the ears of those who heard him. One specimen only of his oratorical talent remains, the panegyric addressed to Trajan. This was admitted to be in his happiest vein, and it is replete with point and elegance. The impression given on a first reading is, that it is full also of flattery. This, however, is not in reality the case. Allowing for a certain conventionality of tone, there is no flattery in it; that is, there is nothing that goes beyond truth. But Pliny had the unhappy talent of speaking truth in the accents of falsehood. Like Seneca, he strikes us in this speech as *too clever* for his audience. Still, with all its faults, his oratory must have made an epoch, and helped to arrest the decline for, at least, some years. It is on his letters that Pliny's fame now rests, and both in tone and style they are a monument that does him honor. They show him to have been a gentleman and a man of feeling, as well as a wit and courtier. They were deliberately written with a view to publication, and thus can never have the unique and surpassing interest that belongs to those of Cicero. But they throw so much light on the contemporary history, society, and literature, that no student of the age can afford to neglect them. They are arranged neither according to time nor subject, but on an æsthetic plan of their author's, after the fashion of a literary nosegay. As extracts from several have already been given, we need not enlarge on them here. Their language is extremely pure, and almost entirely free from that poetical coloring which is so conspicuous in contemporary and subsequent prose writing.

57. In the heroic age Greece was already divided into a number of independent states, each governed by its own king. The authority of the king was not limited by any laws. His power resembled that of the patriarchs in the Old Testament, and for the exercise of it he was responsi-

ble only to Jove, and not to his people. It was from the Olympian god that his ancestors had received the supremacy, and he transmitted it, as a divine inheritance, to his son. He had the sole command of his people in war; he administered to them justice in peace; and he offered on their behalf prayers and sacrifices to the gods. He was the general, judge, and priest of his people. They looked up to him with reverence as a being of divine descent and divine appointment; but at the same time he was obliged to possess personal superiority, both of mind and body, to keep alive this feeling in his subjects. It was necessary that he should be brave in war, wise in council, and eloquent in debate. If a king became weak in body, or feeble in mind, he could not easily retain his position. But as long as his personal qualities commanded the respect of his subjects, they quietly submitted to acts of violence and caprice. An ample domain was assigned to him for his support, and he received frequent presents to avert his enmity and gain his favor.

58. All the rest of that Day I spent in afflicting myself at the dismal Circumstances I was brought to, *viz.* I had neither Food, House, Cloaths, Weapon, or Place to fly to, and in Despair of any Relief, saw nothing but Death before me, either that I should be devour'd by wild Beasts, murther'd by Savages, or starv'd to Death for want of Food. At the approach of Night, I slept in a Tree for fear of wild Creatures, but slept soundly tho' it rained all Night. In the morning I saw to my great Surprise the Ship had floated with the high Tide, and was driven on Shore again much nearer the Island, which as it was some Comfort on one hand, for seeing her sit upright, and not broken to pieces I hop'd, if the Wind abated, I might get on board, and get some Food and Necessaries out of her for my Relief; so on the other hand it renew'd my Grief at the Loss of my Comrades, who I imagin'd if we had all staid

on board might have sav'd the Ship, or at least that they would not have been all drown'd as they were; and that had the Men been sav'd, we might perhaps have built us a Boat out of the ruins of the Ship, to have carried us to some other Part of the World. I spent great Part of this Day in perplexing myself on these things, but at length seeing the Ship almost dry, I went upon the Sand as near as I could, and then swam on board; this Day also it continu'd raining, tho' with no Wind at all.

59. While I was thus looking on them, I perceived two miserable Wretches, dragg'd from the Boats, where it seems they were laid by, and were now brought out for the Slaughter. I perceiv'd one of them immediately fell, being knock'd down I suppose with a Club or Wooden Sword, for that was their way, and two or three others were at Work immediately cutting him open for their Cookery, while the other Victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. In that very Moment this poor Wretch seeing himself a little at Liberty, Nature inspired him with Hopes of Life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible Swiftness along the Sands directly towards me, I mean towards that part of the Coast where my Habitation was. I was dreadfully frighted (that I must acknowledge) when I perceiv'd him to run my way; and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole Body, and now I expected that Part of my Dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take Shelter in my Grove; but I could not depend by any means on my Dream for the rest of it (*viz.*) that the other Savages would not pursue him thither and find him there. However, I kept my Station, and my Spirits began to recover, when I found that there was not above three Men that follow'd him and still more encourag'd, when I found that he outstript them exceedingly in Running, and gain'd Ground of them so that

if he could but hold it for half an Hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

60. So he took his hunting spears and called his dog and went out into the woods to hunt. All day he wandered over the mountains, and late in the afternoon, panting and fatigued, threw himself on a green knoll, covered with mountain herbage, that crowned the brow of a precipice. Evening was gradually advancing. He saw that it would be dark long before he could reach the village, and he heaved a heavy sigh at the thought of encountering his wife. As he was about to descend he heard a voice from a distance calling his name. He looked round, but could see nothing except a crow winging its solitary flight across the mountain. He thought his fancy must have deceived him, and turned again to descend when he heard the same cry, and his dog crept with a growl to his side looking fearfully down into the glen. The master looked in the same direction and perceived a strange figure slowly toiling up the rocks, and bending under the weight of something he carried on his back. Going down to help him he found a man in outlandish dress carrying a great cask of wine up the hill, who without speaking made signs for the huntsman to approach and assist him with the load. He complied with his usual alacrity, and mutually relieving each other they clambered up the dry bed of a mountain torrent, that seemed to issue out of a deep ravine. Then passing through the ravine they came to a hollow like a small amphitheatre where they found a company of odd-looking personages amusing themselves by rolling huge balls against wooden figures set in rows.

61. The strange men drew out the wine into flagons and made signs to the huntsman that he should serve them as they played, but they said never a word to him. He obeyed with fear and trembling, but at last recovering courage, ventured, when no one was looking at him, to taste the

beverage so often that at length his senses were overpowered and he fell into a deep sleep. On waking he found himself on the green knoll whence he had first seen the old man of the glen. He rubbed his eyes, — it was a bright sunny morning. He recalled the occurrences before he fell asleep. "O that wicked flagon! that wicked flagon!" thought he; "what excuse shall I make to my wife?" He looked round for his spears, but found two rusty old ones in their place. The dog, too, had disappeared. He called to him, but all in vain. He suspected that his silent acquaintance of the evening before had robbed him, and determined to revisit the scene of their sport, and if he met with any of the party to demand his dog and weapons. But the bed of the stream was now full of rushing water, and he could not get into the ravine. What was to be done? The morning was passing away, and he felt hungry. He grieved to give up his dog and weapon, he dreaded to meet his wife; but it would not do to starve among the mountains. So with anxious heart and weary limbs he turned his steps homeward. All things seemed different wherever he came. Nobody in his own village knew him, and when he called to a dog which was like his own, the cur snarled, showed his teeth, and passed on. This was an unkind cut indeed. "My very dog," sighed the poor man, "has forgotten me."

62. They sailed from Palos August 3. It took them a month to reach the Canary Islands; but after they had passed those, and found themselves on the lonely ocean at night, many of the sailors wept and declared they never should return. Columbus quieted them, and they sailed on, day by day, sometimes hopeful, and sometimes mutinous. Once the sailors plotted to throw Columbus overboard. Often they thought they saw signs of land; once they were sure of it, and it proved only a cloud. At last land-birds were seen, and floating twigs with red berries, and a piece of wood rudely carved, and drifting sea-weed, to which live

crabs were clinging. Finally one evening at ten o'clock Columbus saw a light glimmering across the water, and the next morning from one of the smaller vessels was heard the signal agreed upon for "making land." It was a very welcome sound; for they had been seventy-one days in crossing the ocean which is now crossed in seven. The vessels "lay to" that night; and the next morning they saw a wooded island six miles away, and crowds of natives running along the beach. We may imagine how Columbus felt, when, at day-break, he was rowed to the shore with banners and music, and when he stepped upon the beach where no European had ever before landed.

63. It must have been an exciting thing to sail with Henry Hudson up that noble river, where no white man had ever sailed before. He said in his narrative that the lands on both sides were "pleasant with grass and flowers and goodly trees." "It is as beautiful a land as one can tread upon," he declared, "and abounds in all kinds of excellent ship-timber." The Indians came out to meet him in canoes, "made of single hollowed trees," but he would not let them come on board at first, because one of them had killed one of his sailors with an arrow. After a while the Dutchmen put more confidence in the Indians, and let them bring grapes and pumpkins and furs to the vessel. These were paid for with beads, knives, and hatchets. At last the Indians invited the bold sea-captain to visit them on shore, and made him very welcome; and one of their chiefs "made an oration," and showed him all the country round about. Henry Hudson sailed up as far as where the town of Hudson now stands, and there finding it too shallow for his vessel, sent a boat farther still — as far as what is now Albany. Then he turned back disappointed, and sailed out of the "Great River," as he called it, and went back to Holland. He never saw that beautiful river again. The Dutch merchants did not care to explore it, since it did not

lead to India, and Hudson, on his next voyage, went to the northern seas, hoping to find the passage to India that way.

64. While the Pilgrims were thus establishing themselves at Plymouth, there were some temporary English settlements made at other places along the coast. But the principal colony was yet to be founded. On the 29th of June, 1629, there came sailing into what is now Salem harbor five vessels, one of these being the selfsame "Mayflower" that had first brought the Pilgrims. They had been six weeks and three days at sea; and the passengers called the voyage "short and speedy." It had been a prosperous voyage; and the only person who described it says, "Our passage was both pleasurable and profitable; for we received instruction and delight in beholding the wonders of the Lord in the deep waters, and sometimes seeing the sea around us appearing with a terrible countenance, and, as it were, full of high hills and deep valleys; and sometimes it appeared as a most plain and even meadow." Then, when they came along the coast, the same writer says, "By noon we were within three leagues of Cape Ann; and, as we sailed along the coast, we saw every hill and dale, and every island, full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shore, the more flowers in abundance; sometimes scattered abroad, sometimes joined in sheets nine or ten yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadows by the tide. Now, what with pine-woods and green trees by land, and these yellow flowers painting the sea, made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signals of fertility afar off." How unlike the first approach of the Pilgrims to Cape Cod in the frosty autumn weather!

65. Then another great source of anxiety among the Puritans was what was called the witchcraft excitement. All over Europe, two centuries ago, it was firmly believed

that certain persons were witches, and had power to bewitch and injure other people by magic arts. Perhaps some old woman, living by herself, would be accused of exerting this magic power on men or animals, and of causing disease or death. Then the poor woman would be accused before a magistrate, and would be examined, and perhaps tortured to make her confess; then she would become so frightened, or excited, as to say that she was really a witch, and perhaps to accuse others: and so it spread from one to another. In Scotland, about that time, four thousand persons suffered death, on charge of witchcraft, in ten years' time; and it is not strange that twenty were executed in Massachusetts. Sometimes the very persons who were accused would do and say such strange things that it was hard to know what course to take with them. A young girl, for instance, would jump up in church, and shout out, "Parson, your text is too long!" or, "There's a great yellow bird sitting on the parson's hat in the pulpit!" and, when people did such strange things, the magistrates themselves became excited. But, the more severely such persons were treated, the more their number increased; so that the persecution of witches made more witchcraft; and some of the Puritans were afterwards very much ashamed of what they had done.

66. But, however carefully they may have built their houses, all these Indians were alike in being a roving race, living in the open air most of their time, and very unwilling to be long confined to one place. They were always moving about, changing their abode at different seasons of the year, or when they wished to pursue a different kind of game. One of their commonest reasons for removing was that they had burned the woods immediately around them. So when the first white settlers came, and the Indians were puzzled to know why these strangers arrived, some of them thought that it must be because they had burned up all the wood

in the country from which they came, and that they visited the American continent merely to find fuel.

The Indians were not commonly equal to the Europeans in bodily strength: they were not so strong in the arms and hands, nor could they strike such heavy blows. But, on the other hand, their endurance was wonderful. They were very light of foot, and their best runners could run seventy or eighty miles in a day; and they could bear the greatest torture without uttering a groan. In the woods they could hear sounds, and observe signs, which no white man could perceive; and they had the power of travelling for miles in a straight line through the densest forest, being guided by the appearance of the moss and bark upon the trees.

67. The colony that had least trouble with the Indians in early days was Pennsylvania. This was partly the result of the wise and righteous course pursued by William Penn, the founder. He made a treaty, in the very year of his arrival (1682), with the Delawares and other tribes. Standing under a great elm-tree at Shackamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia, he told the Indians how he meant to treat them. He said to them, "I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between you and me I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts: we are all one flesh and blood." To this the Indians replied, "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon shall endure." And they fulfilled this treaty. Pennsylvania is said to have been the only colony where the evidence of an Indian was taken in court against that of a white man; and the Indians proved themselves worthy of this just treatment.

The Society of Friends, or Quakers, in New Jersey,

showed the same generous and just conduct toward the Indians; and the Indians treated them equally well. "You are brothers," said the sachem; "and we will live like brothers with you. We will have a broad path for you and us to walk in. If an Englishman falls asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by, and say, 'He is an Englishman, he is asleep: let him alone.'"

68. But, however differently the thirteen colonies may have been founded or governed, they were all alike in some things. For instance, they all had something of local self-government; that is, each community, to a greater or less extent, made and administered its own laws. Moreover, they all became subject to Great Britain at last, even if they had not been first settled by Englishmen; and, finally, they all grew gradually discontented with the British government, because they thought themselves ill-treated. This discontent made them at last separate themselves from England, and form a complete union with one another. But this was not accomplished without a war, — the war commonly called the American Revolution.

When we think about the Revolutionary War, we are very apt to suppose that the colonies deliberately came together, and resolved to throw off the yoke of Great Britain. But this was not the case at all. When the troubles began, most of the people supposed themselves to be very loyal; and they were ready to shout "God save King George!" Even after they had raised armies, and had begun to fight, the Continental Congress said, "We have not raised armies with the ambitious design of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states." They would have been perfectly satisfied to go on as they were, if the British government had only treated them in a manner they thought just; that is, if Great Britain either had not taxed them, or had let them send representatives to Parliament in return for paying taxes. This wish was considered perfectly rea-

sonable by many of the wisest Englishmen of that day; and these statesmen would have gladly consented to either of these measures. But King George III. and his advisers would not consent; and so they not only lost the opportunity of taxing the American colonies, but finally lost the colonies themselves.

69. And we can safely assume something more than this. Habits and opinions alter with every generation; but the great principles of right and wrong do not change. Those who founded the American colonies left to their descendants many examples of noble lives and unselfish purposes; and we may be very sure that those who are to carry on the institutions they founded cannot prosper without something of the same high motive and religious self-devotion. The first great mission of the nation was that of proving to the world that republican government on a large scale was practicable. In this attempt, success has been attained, in spite of the great difficulty resulting from the presence of slavery, and the annual arrival of many thousand immigrants, wholly untrained in republican institutions. The civil war has proved that the people of the United States, when at peace among themselves, are strong enough for self-protection against any foreign power. The thing now essential to Americans is to guard against internal as well as external dangers, to purify their own government, educate their own community, give to the world an example of pure lives and noble purposes; and so conduct the affairs of the republic that, as President Lincoln said in his Gettysburg address, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

70. The first great attempt to make the plebeians less miserable was the agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, B.C. 486. Spurius Cassius was himself a patrician and had been consul; and when consul had done good service to the state by making peace with the Latins, who were hence-

forth to be the equal allies of Rome. He saw the sad condition of the plebeians, and the debts which they were obliged to run into, and which brought them to ruin and misery. He proposed accordingly, that pieces of the public lands should be divided amongst the poor plebeians. The public land was the land which had been won in war, and which belonged to the state. Some of this land had been divided to citizens when it was conquered, and some had been given to the temples, to provide for the service of the gods whom the Romans worshipped. What was left belonged to the state; but the state meant as yet the patricians. So the patricians fed their cattle on this public land, and used it as their own. What Spurius Cassius proposed was that some of this land should be divided amongst the poor plebeians, and that the patricians who fed their cattle on the remainder should pay a rent to the state for doing so. It seems that this law was passed, but was never carried into effect, for the patricians put difficulties in the way. They hated Spurius Cassius for his law, and accused him of conspiring to make himself popular that so he might become a king, and on this charge they put him to death (B.C. 485). But this *Agrarian Law* was never forgotten, and you must remember what it was, for we shall hear of it again.

71. The views to which Cicero thus early devoted himself he continued to cherish through life, even while compelled at times to side with a faction which feared and resented them. He began gradually to conceive a genuine interest for the classes whose cause he advocated, perhaps, we may say, an affection for them, which forms one of the most pleasing features of his character. He aimed at elevating that middle class already spoken of, as a pledge of the integrity of the constitution. He labored diligently to soften the conflicting views of the nobility and commons, of the Romans and Italians, the victors and the vanquished

of the civil wars. Nor was his political course warped like that of his leader, Pompeius, by any impatience of the restraints of law, such as might naturally arise in the breast of a military commander; nor by the criminal desire to rise above them, which the child of Strabo and the lieutenant of Sulla might be supposed to inherit. Cicero's ambition was ardent and soaring, but it was sincerely limited to acquiring the highest honors of the free state. He succeeded in attaining the consulship, and as consul he performed a service for his country as brilliant as any recorded in her annals. But his career of patriotism and loyal service was cut short by the jealousy of his associates and the selfishness of his early patron.

72. When Pompeius looked back upon his own career from the time of his return from Asia in the enjoyment of unexampled glory, and with the prospect of exerting almost unbounded influence, he could not fail to observe that he had fallen from the summit of dignity which he then occupied, and that Cæsar, a younger aspirant, was threatening to outclimb him at no distant day. He might remark how different had been the course they had respectively pursued. The one had awaited in proud inaction the offer of fresh honors and powers, the other had seized and secured them with his own hands. The one had studied to increase the confusion of public affairs by balancing faction against faction; the other had attached himself without wavering to the party with which he was hereditarily connected. The one had hoped that the necessities of the state would at last combine all men in the common policy of elevating him to the dictatorship; the other had applied himself steadily to the task of reducing his opponents to insignificance, and throwing the creation of a supreme ruler into the hands of his own devoted adherents. Pompeius seems to have now determined to alter his previous course and imitate that of his more audacious competitor by bolder

and more hazardous steps, such as he had not shrunk from himself in earlier times when his position was still to be won.

73. Nor is it a little thing that by breaking through the law of our fathers and choosing men of the commons for consuls, we shall declare that riches are to be honored above that rule of order which the gods have given to us. Riches even now can do much for their possessor; but they cannot raise him above the order in which he was born; they cannot buy for him — shame were it if they could — the sovereign state of the consulship, nor the right to offer sacrifice to the gods of Rome. But once let a plebeian be consul, and riches will be the only god which we shall all worship. For then he who has money will need no other help to raise him from the lowest rank to the highest. And then we may suffer such an evil as that which is now pressing upon the cities of the Greeks and the great island of Sicily. There may arise a man from the lowest of the people, with much craft and great riches, and make himself what the Greeks call a tyrant. Ye scarcely know what the name means — a vile person seizing upon the state and power of a king, trampling upon our law, confounding our order, persecuting the noble and the good, encouraging the evil, robbing the rich, insulting the poor, living for himself alone and for his own desires, neither fearing the gods nor regarding men. This is the curse with which the gods have fitly punished other people for desiring freedom more than the laws their fathers gave them. May we never commit the like folly to bring upon ourselves such a punishment!

74. The extreme moderation of the party opposed to Appius deserves in all these transactions the highest praise. They composed probably a majority in the Senate, and if they had exerted their whole strength, they would have been also a majority in the comitia. Yet they suffered Appius to defy the laws for a period of two years and a

half, and afterwards they allowed him to be elected consul without opposition; nor, when he became a private citizen, did they ever impeach him for the violence of his conduct. We cannot in our ignorance of the details of these times appreciate fully the wisdom of this conduct; but as violence begets violence, so unquestionably does moderation in political contests lead to moderation in return. The personal ambition of Appius had been gratified even beyond the law, and this his political opponents had endured at the time, nor did they seek to punish it afterwards. Nothing was attempted against him which could either irritate his own passions or invest him in the eyes of the multitude with the character of a martyr in their cause. If he had ever carried his views still higher than to a five years' censorship, if the hope of regal dominion had ever floated before his eyes, the forbearance shown towards him deprived him not only of every pretext for further violence, but, appealing to the nobler part of his nature, restrained him for very shame from endeavoring to wrest more where so much had been already yielded to him. It would not suffer him to assail that constitution which had shown itself towards him at once so confident and so placable.

75. Laws they are not, therefore, which public approbation has not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent by voice, sign, or act, but who let others do it in their names by right originally, at least, derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding, our assent is by reason of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed no less effectually to bind us than if ourselves had done it in person. In many things assent is given, they that give it not imagining they do so, because the manner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute monarch com-

mandeth his subjects that which seemeth good in his own discretion, hath not his edict the force of law, whether they approve or dislike it?

Again, that which hath been received long since, and is by custom now established, we keep as a law which we may not transgress; yet what consent was ever thereunto sought, or required at our hands? On this point, therefore, we are to note that since men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men, therefore, utterly without our consent, we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when that society whereof we are part hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same by the like universal agreement.

76. One of the evils most liable to attend on any sort of early proficiency, and which often fatally blights its promise, my father most anxiously guarded against. This was self-conceit. He kept me with extreme vigilance out of the way of hearing myself praised or of being led to make self-flattering comparisons between myself and others. From his own intercourse with me I could have derived but a very humble opinion of myself, and the standard of comparison he always held up to me was not what other people did, but what a man could and ought to do. He completely succeeded in preserving me from the sort of influences he so much dreaded. I was not at all aware that my attainments were anything unusual at my age. If I accidentally had my attention drawn to the fact that some other boy knew less than myself, which happened less often than might be imagined, I concluded not that I knew much, but that he, from some reason or other, knew little, or that his knowledge was of a different kind from mine. My state of mind was not humility, but neither was it arrogance. I never thought of saying to myself, I am or I can do so and so. I

neither estimated myself highly nor lowly; I did not estimate myself at all.

77. My frankness on all other subjects on which I was interrogated evidently did me far more good than my answers, whatever they might be, did harm. Among the proofs I received of this, one is too remarkable not to be recorded. In the pamphlet, "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," I had said rather bluntly that the working classes, though differing from those of some other countries in being ashamed of lying, are yet generally liars. This passage some opponent got printed in a placard, which was handed to me at a meeting chiefly composed of the working classes, and I was asked whether I had written and published it. I at once answered, "I did." Scarcely were these two words out of my mouth when vehement applause resounded through the whole meeting. It was evident that the working people were so accustomed to expect equivocation and evasion from those who sought their suffrages that, when they found instead of that a direct avowal of what was likely to be disagreeable to them, instead of being affronted, they concluded at once that this was a person whom they could trust.

78. As we stand amidst the ruins of town or country house which recall to us the wealth and culture of Roman Britain, it is hard to believe that a conquest that left them heaps of crumbling stones was other than a curse to the land over which it passed. But if the new England which sprang from the wreck of Britain seemed for the moment a waste from which the arts, the letters, the refinement of the world had fled hopelessly away, it contained within itself germs of a nobler life than that which had been destroyed. The base of Roman society, here as everywhere throughout the Roman world, was the slave, the peasant who had been crushed by tyranny, political and social, into serfdom. The base of the new English society was the freeman, whom we

have seen tilling, judging, or fighting for himself by the northern sea; however roughly he dealt with the material civilization of Britain while the struggle went on, it was impossible that such a man could be a mere destroyer. War, in fact, was no sooner over, than the warrior settled down into the farmer, and the home of the freeman rose beside the heap of goblin-haunted stones that marked the site of the villa he had burned. The settlement of the English in the conquered land was nothing less than an absolute transfer of English society in its completest form to the soil of Britain.

79. But William had no sooner recovered from his sickness than he found himself face to face with an opponent whose meek and loving temper rose into firmness and grandeur when it fronted the tyranny of the king. Much of the struggle between William and the archbishop turned on questions which have little bearing on our history. But the particular question at issue was of less importance than the fact of a contest at all. The boldness of Anselm's attitude not only broke the tradition of ecclesiastical servitude, but infused through the nation at large a new spirit of independence. The real character of the strife appears in the primate's answer when his remonstrances against the lawless exactions from the church were met by a demand for a present on his own promotion, and his offer of five hundred pounds was contemptuously refused. "Treat me as a free man," Anselm replied, "and I devote myself and all that I have to your service; but if you treat me as a slave, you shall have neither me nor mine." A burst of the Red King's fury drove the archbishop from court, and he finally decided to quit the country; but his example had not been lost, and the close of William's reign found a new spirit of freedom in England with which the greatest of the conqueror's sons was glad to make terms.

80. The civilization of the Greeks and the development

of their language bear all the marks of home growth, and probably were little affected by foreign influence. The traditions, however, of the Greeks would point to a different conclusion. It was a general belief among them that the Pelasgians were reclaimed from barbarism by Oriental strangers, who settled in the country and introduced among the rude inhabitants the first elements of civilization. Many of these traditions, however, are not ancient legends, but owe their origin to the philosophical speculations of a later age, which loved to represent an imaginary progress of society from the time when men fed on acorns and ran wild in the woods to the time when they became united into political communities and owned the supremacy of law and reason. The speculative Greeks who visited Egypt in the sixth and fifth centuries before the Christian era were profoundly impressed with the monuments of the old Egyptian monarchy, which, even in that early age of the world, indicated a gray and hoary antiquity. The Egyptian priests were not slow to avail themselves of the impression made upon their visitors, and told the latter many a wondrous tale to prove that the civilization, the arts, and the religion of the Greeks all came from the land of the Nile. These tales found easy believers; they were carried back to Greece, and repeated with various modifications and embellishments, and thus, no doubt, arose the greater number of the traditions respecting Egyptian colonies in Greece.

81. Of the duties of the Amphictyonic Council, nothing will give us a better idea than the oath taken by its members. It ran thus: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water in war or peace. If any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot, hand, and voice, and by every means in our power."

We thus see that the main duties of the council were to restrain acts of aggression against its members, and to preserve the rights and dignities of the temple at Delphi. It is true that the Amphictyons sometimes took a larger view of their functions; but these were only employed for political purposes when they could be made subservient to the views of one of the leading Grecian States. They were never considered as a national congress, whose duty it was to protect and to defend the common interests of Greece. If such a congress had ever existed, and its edicts had commanded the obedience of the Greeks, the history of the nation would have had a different course. The Macedonian kings would probably have remained in their subordinate condition, and united Greece might even have defied the legions of conquering Rome.

82. The assumption of irresponsible power by one man had become abhorrent to the Greek mind. A person thus raising himself above the law was considered to have forfeited all title to the protection of the law. He was regarded as the greatest of criminals, and his assassination was viewed as a righteous and holy act. Hence few despots grew old in their government, still fewer bequeathed their power to their sons; and very rarely did the dynasty continue as long as the third generation. Many of the despots in Greece were put down by the Lacedæmonians. The Spartan government, as we have already seen, was essentially an oligarchy, and the Spartans were always ready to lend their powerful aid to the support or the establishment of the government of the Few. Hence they took an active part in the overthrow of the despots, with the intention of establishing the ancient oligarchy in their place. But this rarely happened, and they thus became unintentional instruments in promoting the principles of the popular party. The rule of the despot had broken down the distinction between the nobles and the general body of freemen, and,

upon the removal of the despot, it was found impossible, in most cases, to reinstate the former body of nobles in their ancient privileges. The latter, it is true, attempted to regain them, and were supported in their attempts by Sparta. Hence arose a new struggle. The first contest after the abolition was between oligarchy and the despot, the next which now ensued was between oligarchy and democracy.

83. At length all the questions of dispute were settled. After much discussion, an article was framed by which Lewis pledged his word of honor that he would not countenance in any manner any attempt to subvert or disturb the existing government of England. William, in return, gave his promise not to countenance any attempt against the government of France. This promise Lewis had not asked, and at first seemed inclined to consider as an affront. His throne, he said, was perfectly secure, his title undisputed. There were in his dominion no non-jurors, no conspirators, and he did not think it consistent with his dignity to enter into a compact which seemed to imply that he was in fear of plots and insurrections such as a dynasty sprung from a revolution might naturally apprehend. On this point, however, he gave way, and it was agreed that the covenants should be strictly reciprocal. William ceased to demand that James should be mentioned by name, and Lewis ceased to demand that an amnesty should be granted to James's adherents. It was determined that nothing should be said in the treaty, either about where the banished king of England should reside, or about the jointure of his queen. But William authorized his plenipotentiaries at the congress to declare that Mary of Modena should have whatever, on examination, it should appear that she was by law entitled to have.

84. Somers was too wise to oppose himself directly to the strong current of popular feeling. With rare dexterity he took the tone, not of an advocate, but of a judge. The

danger which seemed so terrible to many honest friends of liberty, he did not venture to pronounce altogether visionary. But he reminded his countrymen that a choice between dangers was sometimes all that was left to the wisest of mankind. No law-giver had ever been able to devise a perfect and immortal form of government; perils lay thick on the right and on the left, and to keep far from one evil was to draw near to another. That which, considered merely with reference to the internal polity of England, might be to a certain extent objectionable, might be absolutely essential to her rank among European powers and even to her independence. All that a statesman could do in such a case was to weigh inconveniences against each other, and carefully to observe which way the scale leaned. The evil of having regular soldiers, and the evil of not having them, Somers set forth and compared in a little treatise, which was once widely renowned as the Balancing Letter, and which was admitted, even by the malcontents, to be an able and plausible composition. He knew well that mere names exercise a powerful influence on the public mind. He declared, therefore, that he abhorred the thought of a standing army; what he recommended was not a standing army, but a temporary army.

85. It must be evident to every intelligent and dispassionate man that these declaimers contradicted themselves. If an army composed of regular troops was really more efficient than an army composed of husbandmen taken from the plough, and burghers taken from the counter, how could the country be safe with no defenders but husbandmen and burghers, when a great prince who was our nearest neighbor, who had a few months before been our enemy, and who might in a few months be our enemy again, kept up not less than a hundred and fifty thousand troops? If, on the other hand, the spirit of the English people was such that they would with little or no training encounter and defeat

the most formidable array of veterans from the continent, was it not absurd to apprehend that such a people could be reduced to slavery by a few regiments of their own countrymen? But our ancestors were generally so much blinded by prejudice that this inconsistency passed unnoticed. They were secure where they ought to have been wary, and timorous where they might well have been secure. They were not shocked by hearing the same man maintain in the same breath that if twenty thousand professional soldiers were kept up, the liberty and property of millions of Englishmen would be at the mercy of the Crown, and yet that those millions of Englishmen fighting for liberty and property would speedily annihilate an invading army composed of fifty or sixty thousand of the conquerors of Steinkirk and Landen.

86. I here stop to answer one possible objection. Is it, I may be asked, needful for the student of history or of language to be master of all history and of all language? Must he be equally familiar with the tongue, the literature, the political institutions, the civil and military events of all times and places? Such an amount of knowledge, it may well be argued, can never fall to the lot of man. And some may go on to infer that any doctrine which may even seem to lead to such a result must be in itself chimerical. Now to be equally familiar with all history and language is, of course, utterly beyond human power. But it is none the less true that the student of history or of language, and he who is a student of either must be in no small degree a student of the other, must take in all history and all language within his range. The degrees of his knowledge of various languages, of various branches of history, will vary infinitely. Of some branches he must know everything, but of every branch he must know something.

87. If there is any period in the history of our race when beauty came down to earth, as it were, and there in close

and constant companionship with men lived in all their thoughts and works, then it follows that a study of the records and monuments of that period will bring us under the strongest and most immediate influence of beauty. Few will be found — and I should not despair of their conversion when found — to deny that there was such an unparalleled epoch while the Greeks ran through their short career upon earth. Why then should these pricelessly fresh and vivid impressions, the lessons learned by our race in its youth, not be brought within the horizon of every college-bred man? Should any invasion of facts be suffered to deprive us of our intellectual youth, or to enfeeble and to frustrate the one power most effectual in enabling us to mould all facts to our enlightened will? There is but one possible analogy to the singular position which the children of Hellas occupy in our past, and that is to be found in the unique importance of the children of Israel in every education which is to establish sane and stable religious conviction. The lessons which Jewish thought and Jewish history can and must teach us are taught unceasingly, and are taught well. These lessons do not depend for their right understanding upon a detailed study of Hebrew, the less so because the more essential records of Christianity are lodged in Greek writings, though their inspiration is Jewish. The insight into beauty, on the other hand, which is given us by Greece is not to be gained at second hand through translations and explanations.

88. On the twelfth day, as he was lying on the funeral pile, he returned to life, and told them what he had seen in the other world. He said that when he left the body, his soul went on a journey with a great company, and that they came to a mysterious place at which there were two chasms in the earth; they were near together; and over against them were two other chasms in the heaven above. In the intermediate space there were judges seated, who

bade the just, after they had judged them, ascend by the heavenly way on the right hand, having the signs of the judgment bound on their foreheads, and in like manner the unjust were commanded by them to descend by the lower way on the left hand; these also had the symbols of their deeds fastened on their backs. He drew near, and they told him that he was to be the messenger who would carry the report of the other world to men, and they bade him hear and see all that was to be heard and seen in that place. Then he beheld, and saw on one side the souls departing at either chasm of heaven and earth when sentence had been given on them, and at the two other openings, other souls, some ascending out of the earth dusty and worn with travel; some descending out of heaven, clean and bright. And always on their arrival they seemed as if they had come from a long journey, and they went out into the meadow with joy, and encamped as at a festival. And those who knew one another embraced and conversed.

89. The modern and ancient philosophical world are not agreed in their conceptions of truth and falsehood; the one identifies truth almost exclusively with fact, the other with ideals. There is a like difference between ourselves and Plato, which is, however, partly a difference of words. For we, too, should admit that a child must learn many lessons which he imperfectly understands. He must be taught some things in a figure only, and some perhaps which he can hardly be expected to believe when he grows older; but we should limit the use of fiction to the necessity of the case. Plato would draw the line somewhat differently. According to him, the aid of early education is not truth as a matter of fact, but truth as a matter of principle. The child is to be taught first simple religious truths, and then simple moral truths, and insensibly to learn the lesson of good manners and good taste. He proposes an entire reformation of the old mythology. The lusts and treacheries of the

gods are to be banished, the terrors of the world below are to be dispelled, the misbehavior of the Homeric heroes is not to be a model for youth. But there is another strain heard in Homer, which may teach our youth endurance, and something may be learned in medicine from the simple practice of the Homeric age. The principles on which religion is to be based are two only. First, that God is true; secondly, that he is good.

90. Let us consider, too, how differently young and old are affected by the words of some classic author such as Homer or Horace. Passages which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces, neither better nor worse than a hundred others which any clever writer might supply, which he gets by heart and thinks very fine, and imitates, as he thinks, successfully in his own flowing versification, at length come home to him when long years have passed and he has had experience of life, and pierce him as if he had never before known them with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation for thousands of years, with a power over the mind and a charm which the current literature of his own day with all its obvious advantages is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the mediæval opinion about Virgil, as of a prophet or magician, his single words and phrases, his pathetic half-lines, giving utterance as the voice of nature herself to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time.

91. There is not even ground for apprehension in what those who envy my friend his promotion to the cabinet pretend fills them with alarm, that he is incapable of self-restraint and moderation, that he will use the honors we confer upon him for his own ends. This is not human nature. The man who has once felt that he is regarded by

parliament and the people as a beloved and valuable citizen, considers nothing comparable to that distinction. I could wish that this distinction had befallen many I could mention on their first entrance to public life. They would not, through despair of obtaining success by legitimate means, have turned the whole force of their intellect to the pursuit of vulgar applause. My friend has been through life so thoroughly opposed in principle to these fosterers of sedition, that when I hear his promotion opposed, am constrained to believe that there are some who are filled with envy at his exertions and zeal, and are stung at seeing a life-long anxiety to assist the state recognized by the government and the people at large. It were devoutly to be wished that many whose position requires similar exertions would imitate his laborious life. He is no longer young or in sound health, and yet he never denies himself to any petitioner, or spends upon his domestic affairs or recreation a legitimate portion of his time.

92. The odium of Cicero's death fell chiefly on Anthony, yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus, which explains the reason of that silence which is observed about him by the writers of that age, and why his name is not so much as mentioned by Horace and Virgil. For although his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for court poets, since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the prince, especially while Anthony lived, among the sycophants of whose court it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent. Nay, Virgil, on an occasion that hardly could have failed of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merits, chose to do an injustice to Rome itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence to the Greeks, which they themselves would have been forced to yield to Cicero.

93. The character of the great king of Pontus has come down to us laden with all the crimes his rivals' malevolence could fasten upon it; and in estimating it we must never forget that the sources from which our historians drew their information were the narratives of unscrupulous foes. We know of no native documents which they could have consulted, and the memoirs of Sulla himself, the personal opponent of Mithridates, were doubtless deemed by the Romans the most authentic records of the contest between them. We have, however, too many proofs of the malignity of their writers to pay any respect to their estimate of their enemies. The abilities which the eastern despot exhibited may justly raise a prejudice in his favor. And when we consider, in addition, the magnanimity he repeatedly displayed, we shall be the more inclined to look for other explanations of the crimes imputed to him than the natural barbarity to which our authorities complacently refer them. The massacre of the Roman settlers throughout their Asiatic possessions, which followed upon the success of Mithridates, is more likely to have been an act of national vengeance than the execution, as the historians report, of a tyrant's mandate.

94. The king's indignation and vexation were extreme. He was angry with the opposition, with the ministers, with all England. The nation seemed to him to be under a judicial infatuation, blind to dangers which his sagacity perceived to be real, near, and formidable, and morbidly apprehensive of dangers which his conscience told him were no dangers at all. The perverse islanders were willing to trust everything that was most precious to them, their independence, their property, their laws, their religion, to the moderation and good faith of France, to the winds and the waves, to the steadiness and expertness of battalions of ploughmen commanded by squires; and yet they were afraid to trust him with the means of protecting them, lest

he should use those means for the destruction of the liberties which he had saved from extreme peril, which he had fenced with new securities, which he had defended with the hazard of his life, and which from the day of his accession he had never once violated. He was attached, and not without reason, to the Blue Dutch Foot Guards. The vote which required him to discard them, merely because they were what he himself was, seemed to him a personal affront.

95. One more word. The fashion of the day, by a not unnatural reaction, seems to be turning against ancient and classical learning altogether. We are asked what is the use of learning languages which are dead? what is the use of studying the records of times which have forever passed away? Men who call themselves statesmen and historians are not ashamed to run up and down the land, spreading abroad wherever such assertions will win them a cheer, the daring falsehood that such studies, and no others, form the sole business of our ancient universities. They ask, in their pitiful shallowness, what is the use of poring over the history of petty states? what is the use of studying battles in which so few men were killed as on the field of Marathon? In this place I need not stop for a moment to answer such transparent fallacies. Still, even such falsehoods and fallacies as these are signs of the times which we cannot afford to neglect. The answer is in our own hands. As long as we treat the language and the history of Greece and Rome as if they were something special and mysterious, something to be set apart from all other studies, something to be approached and handled in some peculiar method of their own, we are playing into the hands of the enemy.

96. If the characters of men be estimated according to the steadiness with which they have followed the true principle of action, we cannot assign a high place to Hannibal.

But if patriotism were indeed the greatest of virtues, and a resolute devotion to the interests of his country were all the duty that a public man could be expected to fulfil, he would then deserve the most lavish praise. His whole conduct displays the loftiest genius and the boldest spirit of enterprise happily subdued and directed by a cool judgment to the furtherance of the honor and interests of his country; and his sacrifice of selfish pride and passion when, after the battle of Zama, he urged the acceptance of peace, and lived to support the disgrace of Carthage with the patient hope of one day repairing it, affords a strong contrast to the cowardly despair with which some of the best of the Romans deprived their country of their service by suicide. Of the extent of his abilities, the history of his life is the best evidence. As a general, his conduct remains uncharged with a single error. His knowledge of human nature, and his ascendancy over men's minds are shown by the uninterrupted authority which he exercised alike in his prosperity and his adversity over an army composed of so many various and discordant materials, and which had no other bond than the personal character of the leader. As a statesman he was at once manly, disinterested, and sensible; a real reformer of abuses, both in his domestic policy and in his measures with respect to foreign enemies, keeping the just limit between weakness and blind obstinacy.

97. Themistocles is one of those characters which exhibit at once all the greatness and all the meanness of human nature. Acuteness in foreseeing, readiness and wisdom in contriving, combined with vigor and decision in acting, were the characteristics of this great statesman, and by these qualities he not only rescued his country from imminent danger of the Persian yoke, but enabled her to become one of the leading states of Greece. Yet his lofty genius did not secure him from the seductions of avarice and pride which led him to sacrifice both his honor and his

country for the tinsel of eastern pomp. But the riches and luxury which surrounded him served only to heighten his infamy, and were dearly bought with the hatred of his countrymen, the reputation of a traitor, and the death of an exile. Aristides died about four years after the banishment of Themistocles. The common accounts of his poverty are probably exaggerated, and seem to have been founded upon the circumstances of a public funeral and of handsome donations made to his three children by the state. But in ancient times these were no unusual marks of respect and gratitude toward merit and virtue; and, as he was archon eponymous at a time when only the first class of the Solonian census was admissible to this office, he must have enjoyed a certain amount of property. But whatever his property may have been, it is at least certain that he did not acquire or increase it by unlawful means; and not even calumny has ventured to assail his well-earned title of the Just.

98. From early youth Cæsar was a statesman in the deepest sense of the word, and his goal was the highest which man may set before himself, namely, the political, military, intellectual, and moral regeneration of his deep-sunken country, and of its closely related sister nation, Greece, which was still deeper sunken in general degradation. The hard school of thirty years' experience changed his views about the means by which his goal was to be reached, — the goal remained the same in his times of hopeless humiliation as of unbounded power, in the times when as demagogue and conspirator he stole towards it on dark paths, as when as joint possessor of the supreme power, and afterwards as monarch, he worked upon his task in full sunshine before the eyes of the world. All of the measures not of purely occasional character, which took their rise from him at the most different times, have their rational place in the great edifice of his state. Of isolated achievements of

Cæsar's, therefore, we may not properly speak; he achieved nothing isolated. Rightly is he celebrated as orator for his manly oratory, which put all legal art to the blush, like the clear flame which at once illuminates and warms; rightly is he admired as author for the inimitable simplicity of his style, and his unique purity and beauty of language; rightly has he been, by the great military masters of all times, praised as general, for, more than all others, untrammelled by routine and tradition, he had the skill ever to find that method of warfare through which, in the given case, the enemy was conquered; and which, therefore, in the given case, was the right one.

99. Now the feature which distinguishes man from other animals is that he is able to observe and discover these laws which are of such mighty moment to him, and direct his conduct in conformity with them. The more subtle may be revealed only by complicated experience. The plainer and the more obvious among those especially which are called moral have been apprehended among the higher races easily and readily. I shall not ask how the knowledge of them has been obtained, whether by external revelation or by natural insight, or by some other influence working through human faculties. The fact is all that we are concerned with, that from the earliest times of which we have historical knowledge, there have always been men who have recognized the distinction between the nobler and the baser parts of their being. They have perceived that if they would be men and not beasts, they must control their animal passions, prefer truth to falsehood, courage to cowardice, justice to violence, and compassion to cruelty. These are the elementary principles of morality on the recognition of which the welfare and improvement of mankind depend; and human history has been little more than a record of the struggle which began at the beginning, and will continue to the end, between the few who have had the ability to see into the truth, and

loyalty to obey it, and the multitude who, by evasion or rebellion, have hoped to thrive in spite of it.

100. If we would know what a university is, considered in its most elementary idea, we must betake ourselves to the first and most celebrated home of European civilization, to the bright and beautiful Athens, — Athens whose schools drew to her bosom, and then sent back to the business of life, the youth of the western world for a long thousand years. Seated on the verge of the continent, the city seemed hardly suited for the duties of a central metropolis of knowledge; yet what it lost in convenience of approach it gained in its neighborhood to the traditions of the mysterious East, and in the loveliness of the region in which it lay. Hither then as to a sort of ideal land where all the archetypes of the great and the fair were found in substantial being, and all departments of truth explored, and all diversities of intellectual power exhibited; where taste and philosophy were majestically enthroned as in a royal court; where there was no sovereignty but that of the mind, and no nobility but that of genius; where professors were rulers, and princes gave homage, — hither flocked continually from the very corners of the *orbis terrarum* the many-tongued generation just rising or just risen into manhood, in order to gain wisdom.

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